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ABSTRACT

Projects, operations, and future plans are covered in this annual report for the fourth year of the Peace Corps. An introduction overviews successes and failures and the Conference of Returned Volunteers. Section 2 presents regional maps with tables for Latin America, Near East and South Asia, Far East, and Africa. A description of the Peace Corps program in Afghanistan is then presented to provide a capsule of Peace Corps history to date. Section 4 describes new approaches or improvements in training, recruiting, and programming. Budget information is provided in section 5. Section 6 discusses the Peace Corps in Sabah. Section 7 summarizes in tables statistics and activities of returned volunteers, describes the Conference on the Returned Peace Corps Volunteer, and reprints communications from former Volunteers. The report concludes with an overview of the Peace Corps program in the Dominican Republic. (YLB)

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4th ANNUAL PEACE CORPS REPORT

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PEACE CORPS
4th Annual Report

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30 June 1965

4

I. INTRODUCTION

The fourth year of the Peace Corps provided a disappointment and a discovery. In the Spring of 1965 the program in Indonesia was discontinued by mutual agreement because the political climate between the two nations had deteriorated to a point where the Volunteers were rendered ineffective in their jobs. But closer to home, Peace Corps Volunteers remained in the Dominican Republic during the turbulence and dangers of the rebellion, and came through with honors from all sides. On the precarious middle-ground of a civil war, both the Volunteers and the agency learned something about the capabilities of the Peace Corps that they had not really understood before.

From the early days of the Peace Corps, Volunteers and staff members have been troubled by the difficulty of articulating the salient features of the Peace Corps experience. There was always the sense among those who shared the experience that they were on to something special which was more than merely winning friends for America overseas. Yet to say, as so many observers did, that the Peace Corps was "applied altruism," or "ideals in action," or that it expressed "the best in the American spirit," was to name a truth without describing the truth.

The press habitually celebrated the Peace Corps in capsule success stories about the Volunteers, sufficient both to the purposes of popular journalism and the limited curiosity of the readership. Collectively these stories created an engaging folklore of attractive young Americans piping the wayward masses of the underdeveloped world to the paths of progress and enlightenment.

The result of this facile image-making on the one hand and the failures of articulation on the other was a suspension of serious public inquiry about the Peace Corps. Congress alone continued its scrutiny each year, but the national mood was one of self-congratulation over an unexpected gift horse. Accordingly, it came to be the mixed fortune of the Peace Corps that it was loved without being understood.

The Washington staff itself sensed the importance of the Corps without fully comprehending it. Volunteers were constantly exhorted to trust in the validity of their efforts. A quarter century hence, they were assured, a new generation would be the willing judge of their effectiveness. But beneath this assurance there were persistent doubts among the staff that these few thousands scat-

tered across the continents could write any significant page in the history of their time.

The problem of defining the special experience of the Peace Corps was underscored during the Conference of Returned Volunteers held at the State Department in March 1965. Some participants in the Conference expressed disappointment that the Volunteers appeared to have few concrete proposals to make for the betterment of American life. The notion that Volunteers returning from two years abroad would bring with them some packaged and marketable product of their new wisdom was one more comment on the general fogginess about the work of the Peace Corps overseas. Yet the Conference also managed, for the first time, to present the Volunteers as a national reality instead of the vague, distant speculators in idealism they had always seemed. By the end of the Conference, the Peace Corps had made the difficult crossing from the Sunday supplements to the

Volunteer James Kutella, of Stevens Point, Wis., and co-worker prepare cement for foundation of palm-oil plant in Wongifong, Guinea. The project, begun by the U.S. Agency for International Development, was designed to help the Guinean government turn the country's palm groves to profit.

Patients wait in line as Peace Corps nurse Lois Hamilton of Bonita, Cal., provides medical attention in village of Phaggi, near Jaipur, India.

more serious journals of opinion, where observers noted their growing awareness of a "remarkable group of young people, surfacing in our midst," who had at least a very different sort of experience from their contemporaries.

At approximately the same time, the energetic and contentious student activist movement was coming into full view in America. Given the temper of the Sixties, this was more than coincidence.

In the worst days of the cold war, the forces balanced against each other seemed so awful and volatile that a sense of hopelessness was, for many people, almost the only rational response. With the gradual easing of tensions in recent years, it has been more possible for men to believe again that they had the power to affect the climate of their lives. The ardent response to the Peace Corps was one indication of this renewal of belief. Since the not very long ago day of the Kennedy inaugural address, more than

150,000 Americans have volunteered for Peace Corps service. Some 15,000 have served abroad in 49 nations. Nearly 5,000 have successfully completed service and returned to the United States, large numbers of them joining in the War on Poverty, the civil rights movement, or in individual efforts to help the victimized poor. Thirty nations in Europe, Latin America, Asia and Africa have established international or national voluntary service agencies modeled on the Peace Corps.

The Peace Corps is clearly, in its own right, a movement of considerable force, running outward and inward again, and laterally across the earth. But its sources have much in common with those which feed the burgeoning student movement in America. The adherents of both these movements are no longer, like so many Americans of recent years, "aware of everything and resigned to everything." They are men and women who, for whatever reasons, have finally brought themselves to the point of doing something about the events and conditions that distress them. Some expend their protest on the picket line. Others take direct action in the slums, and ghettos, and rural backwaters of the world; their trials, their risks, and their eventual discoveries are the more remarkable because they are lonely ones.

Two major happenings of the past year — the rebellion in the Dominican Republic and the quieter rebellion on the campuses of America — have thus helped the Peace Corps to understand better its own strength and potential. As an official of the agency remarked in a speech at Stanford University, "We have turned a corner and seen ourselves in a mirror and we have been surprised to find that we are more than we thought."

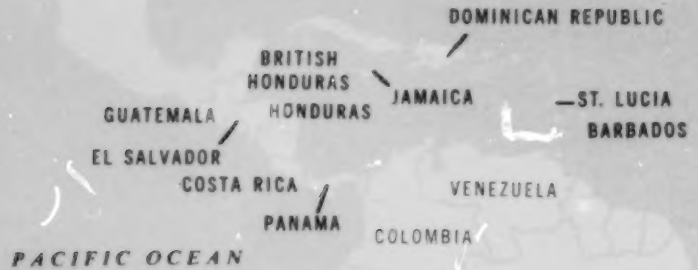
At the end of June 1965, with more than 8,500 Volunteers serving abroad in 46 countries, it is possible to define the Peace Corps both by its deeds and its aims. In the report that follows there are pages devoted to both.

The Peace Corps continues to provide evidence that while the United States may become embroiled in war, it is urgently concerned with finding the ways to peace. Wars and rumors of wars still threaten, but as a former Volunteer makes clear in one section of this report, what the Volunteers and their co-workers have been trying to do in remote corners of the world is to set down that elusive common language through which men of different origins and beliefs can begin, finally, to talk with each other in their search for a better life.

The Peace Corps can look back on the work of these Volunteers in the past year and find a promise that their efforts will one day be recorded not only as an event in the history of the times, but as an expression of the very quality of the times.

II. REGIONAL MAPS

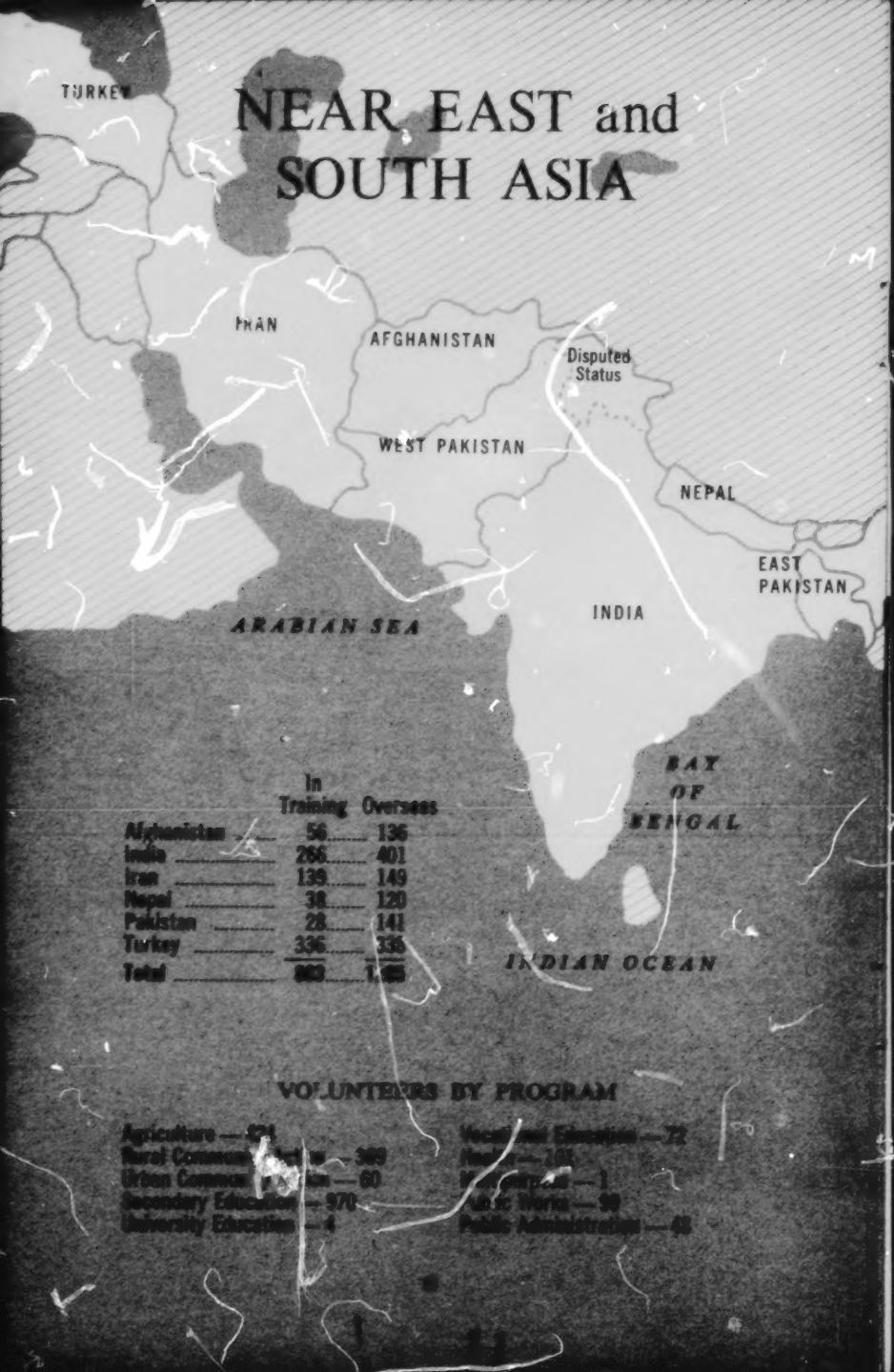
LATIN AMERICA



	In Training	Overseas
Barbados	35	—
Bolivia	108	220
Brazil	280	548
British Honduras	—	49
Chile	175	294
Colombia	313	544
Costa Rica	—	61
Dominican Rep.	94	85
Ecuador	80	309
El Salvador	1	55
Guatemala	—	83
Honduras	56	103
Jamaica	55	77
Panama	—	133
Peru	157	379
St. Lucia	21	5
Uruguay	50	4
Venezuela	119	265
Advance Training Prog.	119	—
Volunteer Secretaries	27	—
Total	**1690**	**3214**

VOLUNTEERS BY PROGRAM

Agriculture — 437
Rural Community Action — 1,600
Urban Community Action — 903
Elementary Education — 53
Secondary Education — 461
University Education — 292
Adult Education — 16
Health — 754
Public Works — 56
Public Administration — 33
Vocational Education — 95
Physical Education — 204



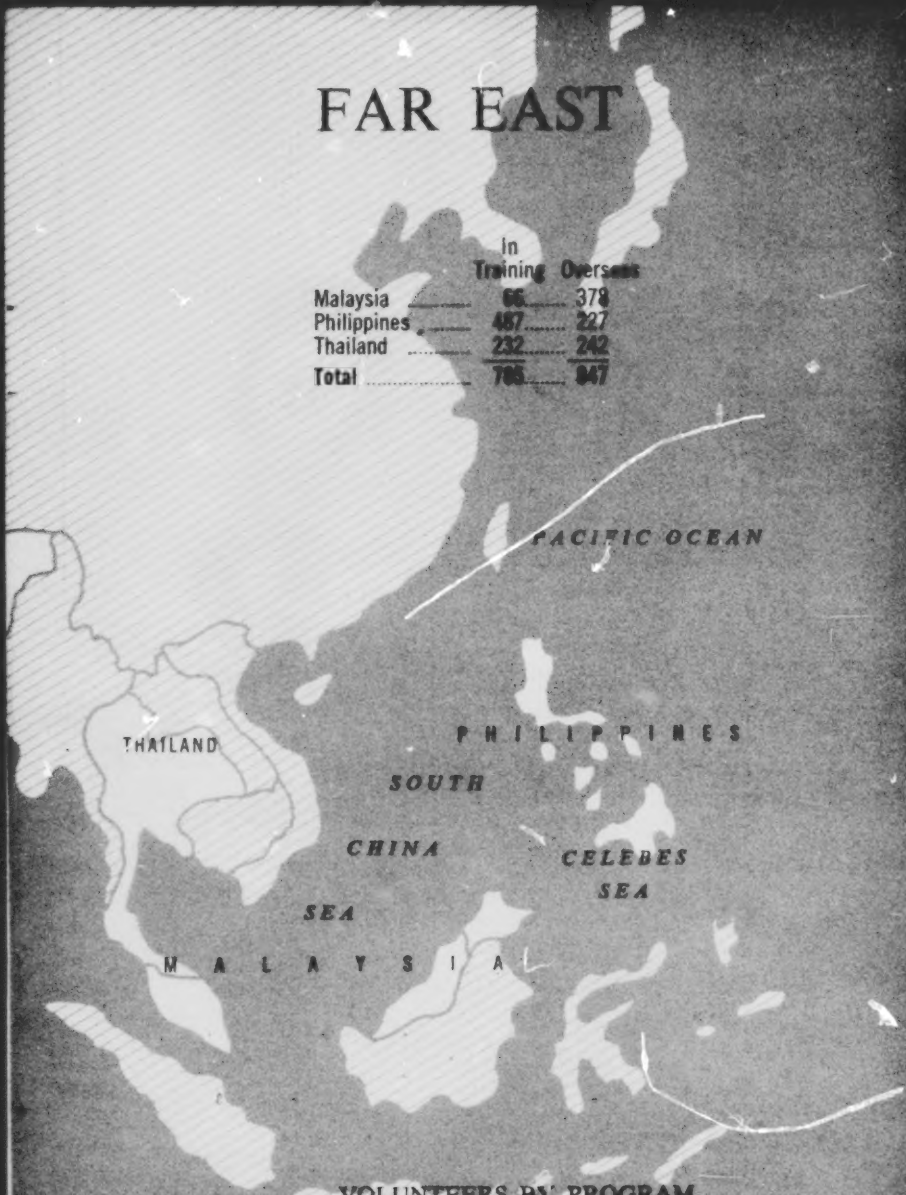
	In Training	Overseas
Afghanistan	56	136
India	266	401
Iran	139	149
Nepal	38	120
Pakistan	28	141
Turkey	336	336
Total	863	1,283

VOLUNTEERS BY PROGRAM

Agriculture — 524
Rural Community Development — 369
Urban Community Education — 60
Secondary Education — 970
University Education — 4
Vocational Education — 72
Health — 104
Physical Sciences — 1
Basic Works — 99
Public Administration — 48

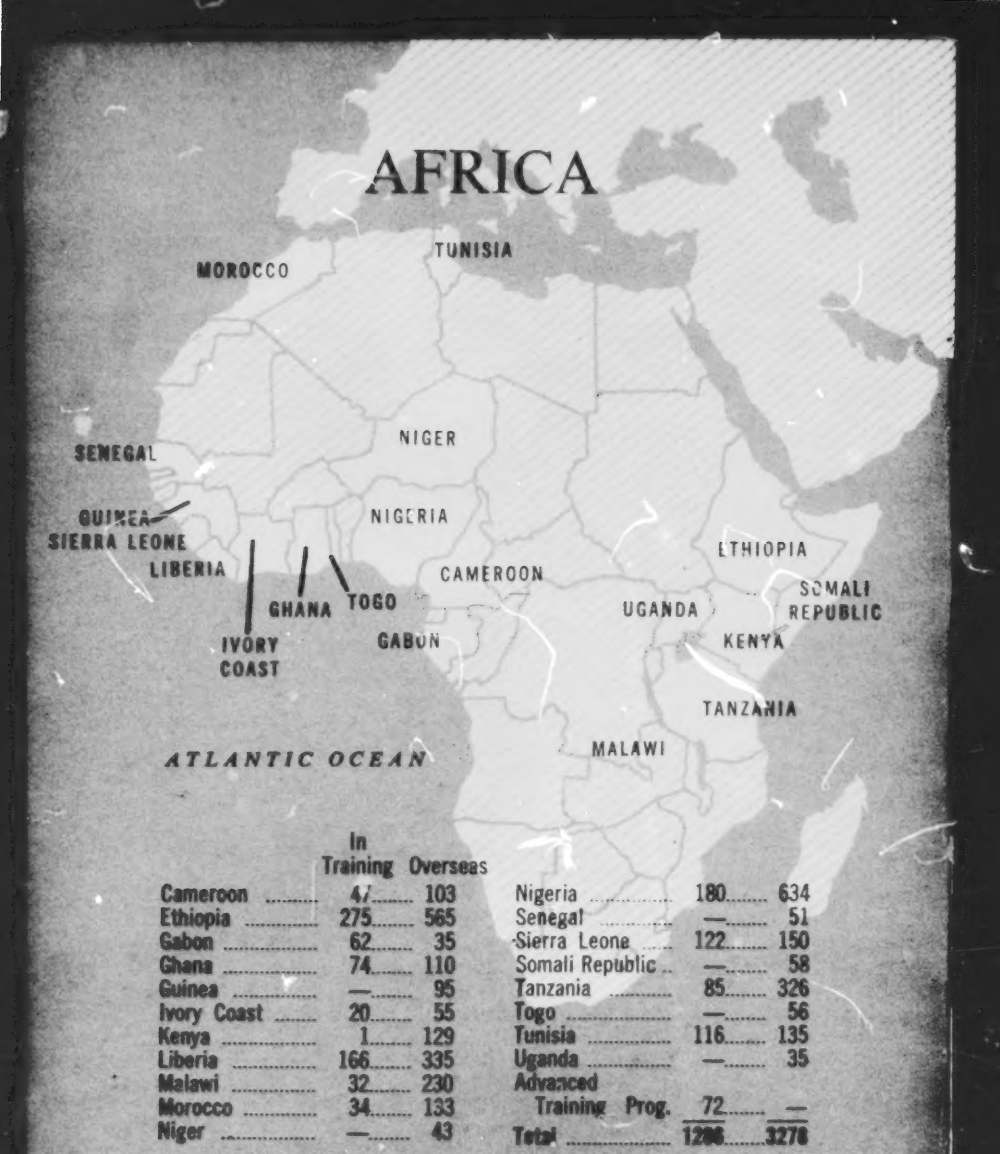
FAR EAST

	In Training	Overseas
Malaysia	66	378
Philippines	487	227
Thailand	232	242
Total	785	847



VOLUNTEERS BY PROGRAM

Rural Community Action — 190
Urban Community Action — 8
Elementary Education — 265
Secondary Education — 959
University Education — 45
Adult Education — 22
Vocational Education — 13
Health — 130

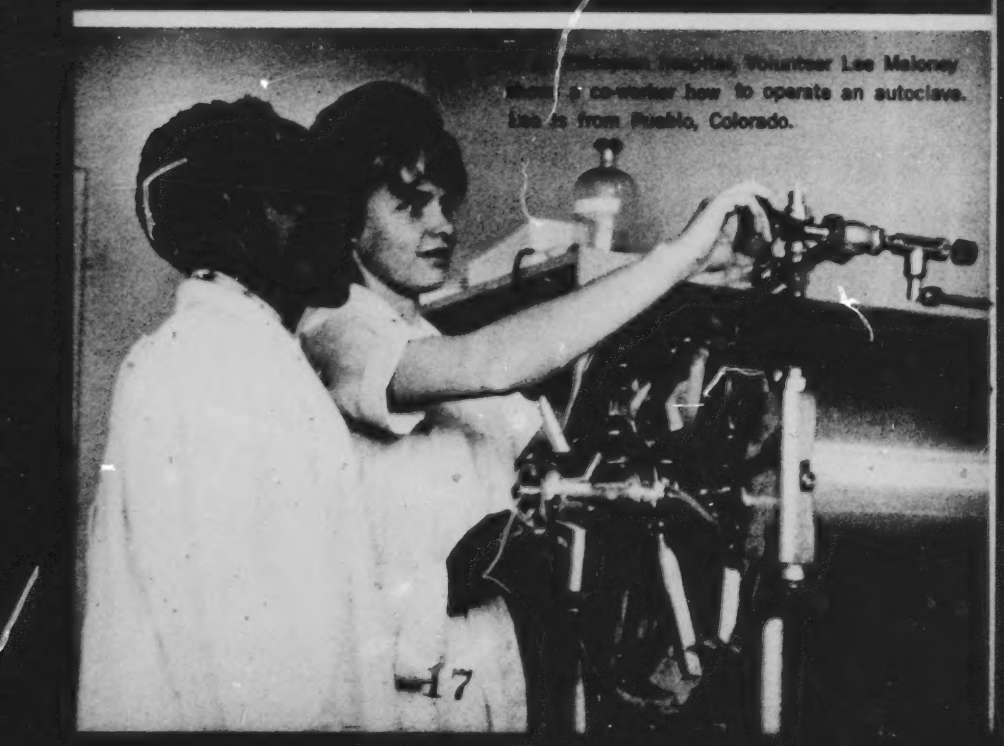


	In Training	Overseas
Cameroon	47	103
Ethiopia	275	565
Gabon	62	35
Ghana	74	110
Guinea	—	95
Ivory Coast	20	55
Kenya	1	129
Liberia	166	335
Malawi	32	230
Morocco	34	133
Niger	—	43
Nigeria	180	634
Senegal	—	51
Sierra Leone	122	150
Somali Republic	—	58
Tanzania	85	326
Togo	—	56
Tunisia	116	135
Uganda	—	35
Advanced Training Prog.	72	—
Total	1206	3278

VOLUNTEERS BY PROGRAM

Agriculture — 136
Rural Community Action — 396
Urban Community Action — 34
Elementary Education — 665
Secondary Education — 2,673
University Education — 64
Adult Education — 33
Vocational Education — 130
Physical Education — 24
Health — 162
Public Works — 176
Lawyers - 13
Public Administration — 58

New Orleans, La. [illegible]



[illegible] hospital, volunteer Lee Maloney shows a co-worker how to operate an autoclave. Lee is from Pueblo, Colorado.

Gary Costello, Danbury, Conn., works in school construction in the town of Riyo Hido, in Somalia. He also teaches mathematics and science.

III. FOUR YEARS: *Past and Present*

The most awesome burden that any President bears is the responsibility for making a decision that sends the pride of our young manhood . . . to foreign battlefields . . . Today I shall sign into law another kind of authority that will send Americans abroad. And I pray — I pray — in the years to come only this kind of authority will ever be required by an American President, because it is an authority not for joining a conflict but for continuing the works of peace throughout the world.

— from the remarks of President Lyndon Baines Johnson at the signing ceremony of the Extension of the Peace Corps Act, 1965.

Finding Acceptance

When the Peace Corps began operations overseas in mid-1961 with some 120 Volunteers in three countries, its goals seemed, to many people, inconsequential. Yet, after only a year in the field, the Peace Corps had "caught on." In nations long since grown cynical about the motives of the great world powers, the Peace Corps approach was not only refreshing, but effective.

A letter from one of the earliest Volunteers, published in the First Annual Report, quite innocently defined this approach. Leo Pastore of East Boston, Mass., had been in the Philippines only a few months when he wrote:

> To be perfectly frank, there has been no specific accomplishment so big that I can point to it . . . but . . . there have been many small accomplishments by the Volunteers that are putting this project over, just little things like attending the barrio elections, showing interest in the barrio council meetings, playing ball in the town plaza with the kids . . .

By June 1962 over 1000 Volunteers were at work in 15 countries and nearly 2000 were in training. Agreements for Volunteers had been reached with 37 countries.

The next year was critical. It was the time to "dig in," to make good an early promise. This called for cautious but continual

President Johnson greets former Volunteers in the Rose Garden of the White House.

expansion and diversification of programs. The first year had mainly consisted of teaching projects and community development — and they are still the staple programs of the Peace Corps. But the host countries seemed both eager and able to absorb a wider variety of Volunteer talents. Thus, during the second year, the Peace Corps sent abroad architects, geologists, nurses, doctors, mechanics, construction teams, fishermen, and planned a program for lawyers.

By June 30, 1963, there were some 4000 Volunteers overseas in over 40 countries, with another 2000 in training. A year later there were over 6000 Volunteers at work, with another 4000 in training. In three years the Peace Corps had evolved from a promising idea to a considerable force for assistance and incentive in 44 developing nations.

In Tunisia, for instance, 40 Peace Corps architects and city planners were engaged in designing new schools, youth centers, low-cost housing units and municipal buildings all over the country. They were responsible for almost 150 projects including 27 schools, 15 low-income housing projects, and a new community

outside Tunis for 25,000 people. Peace Corps architects, too, were put in sole charge of designing two international airports.

Poultry development figures in India in the first half of 1964 showed that the number of Peace Corps-assisted units had doubled — from 287 to 540; that the number of chickens in these units had doubled — from 65,500 to 150,000; and that the number of eggs had doubled as well.

During 1964, 25 Volunteers working in the credit cooperative program in Ecuador helped to increase the number of credit unions from 74 to 174, which in turn tripled the membership. The total assets of the credit unions increased from $86,600 to $1,000,000.

In some nations, the Peace Corps has been responsible for the very changes that now require it to expand even further. In others, natural evolution over a four-year period has enlarged the Peace Corps' responsibilities.

In Colombia, Volunteers have helped a fledgling community development agency establish a firm position in the governmental power structure. And in three other Latin American countries, the efforts of the Volunteers led to the formation of official community development organizations.

In six African nations, more than half of all degree-holding high school teachers are Peace Corps Volunteers.

As of June 30, 1965, there were 8,624 Volunteers in 46 countries with 4,604 in training. By the fall of 1965 there will be more than 10,000 overseas.

This greater number of Volunteers does not necessarily mean a more even distribution among the 46 nations. Some countries need, and would gladly accept 1000 Volunteers — or more. Others can fully utilize only 100, or less. Nigeria, a large, forward-looking African country, has been making enormous strides in education; there are currently close to 550 Volunteers, most of them teachers, who reach over 50,000 Nigerian students each year. Niger, its larger, but far less populous neighbor to the North, contains vast, uninhabited desert territory; there, the Peace Corps consists of only 43 Volunteers, with a small but steady growth anticipated for the years ahead.

The Peace Corps program in Afghanistan, although it contains some unusual features, comes close to mirroring the Peace Corps as a whole. Its token beginnings, its steady but contained rate of growth, its increasing variety, its present status as a welcome agent of change, and its potential as catalyst of the future, provide a capsule of Peace Corps history to date.

Afghanistan

Had it come to a vote in September 1962, the Peace Corps program in Afghanistan might well have been named least likely to succeed.

It consisted of a mere nine Volunteers — nurses, teachers, mechanics — whose number and youth stood in almost pathetic contrast to the large, ambitious foreign aid programs that preceded it. As Robert Steiner, the Peace Corps Director in Afghanistan, put it: "The Afghans viewed the Volunteers with curiosity, not unmixed with a healthy dose of skepticism. They assumed these young Americans were just one more breed of foreign technical assistance — and a pretty inexperienced breed at that."

And there were other difficulties. Afghanistan is a stark, arid, Texas-size country, bordered for 1500 miles on the north by Russia, and touching Communist China on the east. Its provinces, until recent times, were underdeveloped and communications with the capital city, Kabul, were poor. Afghanistan had never had a

Volunteers are greeted by the King and Queen of Afghanistan at a special reception held last summer.

national election. In the cities, women rarely appeared in public when not wearing the traditional *chaudhry* (veil), and seldom took part in social gatherings, which, in turn, seldom took place outside walled family compounds.

The Afghanistan of 1962 was an insular society. The men and machinery of foreign aid had only recently begun to open new doors to the future. The nine newly-arrived Peace Corps Volunteers, restricted to Kabul, were, like children in a Victorian home, seen but not heard.

Clearly, the Peace Corps in Afghanistan was an anachronism — a free-floating idea in a country that seemingly was not ready for it.

During the early days, Steiner recalls, "the cautious Afghan sat back, watching and waiting at his accustomed distance. Then, gradually, some undefined attraction for the Volunteers seemed to take place in the Afghan mind. Technical assistance, yes; the Volunteers appeared, after all, to be skilled and efficient. But more than that. They spoke passable Farsi, and that alone set them apart from other foreigners. Then, they had an enthusiasm for their jobs; they weren't glory-seekers. Even more disarming, their public conduct belied the libertine hero of American movie fame.

"Perhaps," says Steiner, "it was partly the lurking allure of novelty that prompted the Afghans to ask for additional Volunteers, and in June 1963, another 26 arrived."

Under the circumstances, this was taken as an encouraging sign, although the new arrivals were also confined to the capital city. However, in March of 1963, the King appointed for the first time a commoner as Prime Minister, a position traditionally held by a member of the royal family. Gradually, a forceful shaking up of traditions, programs and ideas began to take place. The new leadership saw in the Peace Corps a potential force for expediting social change in the country.

Several Peace Corps English teachers were soon dispatched to provincial locations, some of which few foreigners had ever seen. These Volunteers were among the vanguard of a trend the government sought to encourage.

"This move," says Steiner, "was a major breakthrough . . . and after six months in the provinces, the Volunteers' assignments were made permanent. After this vote of confidence, things moved quickly."

As of June 30, 1965, there were 136 Volunteers in Afghanistan, located in 19 different towns and villages, including such isolated mountain areas as Nuristan and Pactia.

The Peace Corps in Afghanistan is a growing and creative force with exciting diversity, deeply involved in the business of nation-building. In addition to nurses, mechanics and teachers, there are Peace Corps accountants, secretaries, warehousemen, irrigation workers, agriculturists, an expert in hotel management, even a commercial artist. In a nation on the move, every imaginable skill plays a part in development.

One thinks first of education, the key to any kingdom. Peace Corps teachers reach nearly 40 per cent of all Afghan students at the secondary and university levels. Twenty-six more teachers are scheduled to arrive in September 1965.

Education in Afghanistan suffers the same ills as in all developing nations: too few schools, too few experienced teachers, a shortage of books, and reliance on rote learning.

Volunteers are filling a need during what Education Minister Mohammed Anas calls "a very critical period." It is, he says, "a time when the Afghanistan educational system has tremendous growing pains — the majority of the people are understanding more and more what they lack, and the school population rises continuously."

Nursing in Afghanistan, too, suffers from entrenched ideas, outmoded theory and practice. Even as determined a developing nation as Afghanistan does not take instantly to a complete overhauling of medical techniques governed by centuries-old attitudes about illness. But Afghanistan, in any case, needs nurses, and the Peace Corps is presently supplying 11, with 24 more due next winter.

The Peace Corps nurses work in hospitals both in Kabul and Bost (a provincial town over 400 miles southwest of Kabul) where they have three basic goals: to augment the work of veteran staff members, to teach student nurses, and to demonstrate that the nursing profession is an honorable one. (The idea of a girl working at all has not met widespread acceptance in Afghanistan; a girl working as a nurse is, to many a conservative Afghan, almost inconceivable.)

Five new nurses' training centers have just been established throughout the country, and some of the 24 Volunteer nurses expected to arrive near the end of 1965 will help staff them.

On the horizon is a new major medical project. In October, four doctors, a pharmacist and three lab technicians — all Peace Corps Volunteers — will come to work in a new medical school in Jalalabad. This school was designed to train Afghan doctors for provincial service, which is, as Robert Steiner says, "a difficult task in *any* country because doctors gravitate to the cities unless strongly motivated to serve at the grass roots. This problem is,

Nancy Holland of Exeter, New Hampshire, teaches at a boys' school in Kunduz, a small town near the Russian border. A 1963 graduate of Wells College, Aurora, N. Y., she majored in history, minored in sociology—but here she teaches English.

of course, compounded in Afghanistan where the ties that bind the educated Afghan to Kabul are especially strong." But Steiner is optimistic. He thinks it is "significant that the Peace Corps has been asked to undertake this job because Peace Corps goals and philosophy are so akin to those set by the new medical school."

Projects such as this can make a quickly visible difference in a country like Afghanistan, particularly when government and Volunteer are in complete accord as to need and approach.

The goals of community action projects, on the other hand, are never so clear cut, nor do they achieve such high visibility. But they rank with any other Volunteer effort in their importance to over-all national development. The community action Volunteer does not impart a specific craft or skill; he seeks to cultivate in the villager (or urban slum dweller) a hopeful new way of approaching daily life.

Eleven rural development Volunteers arrived in Afghanistan in June. An American anthropologist on the scene predicted they would be "the most frustrated Americans in Afghanistan," but that they would at least lay the groundwork for future efforts in the villages.

The Peace Corps warehousemen, accountants, secretaries — even the mechanics — are the self-styled organizers of the Afghanistan program. The accountants, who in earlier days were given almost no responsibility, are now working in the finance ministry, each with at least one Afghan counterpart, and are installing a new accounting system (drawn up by the Public Administration Service, a private American organization operating under an AID contract) in 30 agencies in Kabul, and in central offices in 29 provinces. Ten more Peace Corps accountants will arrive in September. This is a top-priority project; until recently, the Finance Ministry had no means of getting over-all statistics and information for there were so many different systems.

Joe Michaud retired from the Air Force after 22 years as an oil and gasoline storage specialist; he is now Volunteer Joe Michaud, patiently doing battle with a haphazard system. His goal is to establish a central receiving warehouse for the entire agriculture department — a model other ministries hope will be useful to them.

The slow progress with which Joe Michaud must content himself is also experienced by the Peace Corps mechanics. It is, again, "the system" — no proper inventory procedures, no record of supplies, etc. But the mechanics have made some basic and important changes.

Volunteers Barry Hammel, Milwaukee, Wisc., and Dave Lemery, Grand Rapids, Mich., liberal arts majors, with mechanical

talent, work in a garage. They have set up a new accounting system, and prepared the shop's first budget in addition to performing general mechanical chores and teaching. Volunteer William Waidner, Cincinnati, Ohio, an experienced mechanic, teaches, repairs, and invents when necessary. He has also done special repair and installation work in hospitals. The Volunteer mechanics work in government garages, Hammel and Lemery in one that services UNICEF vehicles used by several government ministries, Waidner in a Ministry of Agriculture garage that maintains a variety of farm vehicles.

The recent Third Annual Peace Corps Hootenanny, held in the University gymnasium in Kabul, was attended by 3000 Afghans. Starring 20 Volunteers, it presented a skit in Farsi, folk songs sung in Pushtu, and finally, a chorus of "Old MacDonald Had A Farm" — sung in Farsi, with audience participation.

The Hootenanny falls under the broad heading of "extra-curricular activities," for which the Peace Corps is, unfortunately, almost more famous than for its basic programs. It is the stuff that images are made of — the sort of heartwarming vignette that is apt to appear in hometown newspapers around America to "prove" that the Peace Corps (and or America) is loved in some fairly unlikely places. But the Peace Corps is four years old, and its aim is to be loved wisely rather than too well. While the spirit and attendance at the Hootenanny does indicate popularity and a certain measure of social acceptance, it is, of course, just one aspect of the broad Peace Corps effort in Afghanistan.

Extra-curricular activities are engaged in by the Peace Corps teachers mostly during their summer vacations. They work in school libraries, plan field trips with students and Afghan friends, organize English clubs, and most recently, they have been helping the Ministry of Planning take Afghanistan's first census.

In Afghanistan, the key to development and progress is variety — variety of skill, approach, and movement. Steiner calls it "a dissemination of ideas," and he puts no limit on category; he invites the unusual.

If in September 1962 it seemed almost futile for the Peace Corps to be in Afghanistan in view of its history and geography, it now seems eminently right. It has been good for Afghanistan, and good for the Volunteers. The attitude of Afghanistan toward the Peace Corps has moved, in three years, from skepticism to trust, from standoffishness to active interest. In other words, the work has just begun. In summing up Peace Corps progress in Afghanistan to date, Robert Steiner can be as cautious as the "cautious Afghan."

Helen McGowan of Winchester, Mass., one of eleven Peace Corps nurses in Afghanistan, examines a young patient at Masturat Hospital in Kabul.

"The past," he says, was a "testing period." The present is "an exciting period of political and social change in which institution and nation are replacing personal loyalties, individual fiefs and fragmented tribal ties.

"Girls are graduating from schools into jobs, and the first national elections will take place in September of this year. The Afghan government has enlisted the Peace Corps to help make this transition period as natural, as evolutionary as possible."

Steiner sees it as "a formidable challenge for the Peace Corps groups to come."

He regards the Peace Corps Volunteers not as a group of miracle workers, or as the lone saviors of a grateful nation; nor does he regard himself as the hero of a tiny, inconspicuous project which has grown ever larger and stronger. He sees the Peace Corps in Afghanistan as a remarkable idea that happened to come along at a "fortuitous time."

IV. NEW DIMENSIONS

With a firm base of acceptance and approval in 46 countries, the Peace Corps continues to experiment with new approaches in training, recruiting, and programming, and to improve on established methods. These were some of the developments in Fiscal Year 1965:

Special Medical Program

While nurses and public health workers have been attracted to Peace Corps service from the beginning, Volunteer doctors have always been in short supply because, among other reasons, by the time they have graduated from medical school, many of them have wives and families. Thus, few doctors applied for Peace Corps service, and fewer have actually served overseas as Volunteers.

At first this situation did not seem acute. The Peace Corps, by serving at the "grass roots", was attacking health conditions where they are most critical — in the sanitary habits and diet of rural villagers and urban slum dwellers. Some Peace Corps nurses worked in clinics and hospitals, but most Peace Corps "health teams" concentrated on changing attitudes and making specific improvements in the communities where they lived.

During the past year, however, there was a re-evaluation of host-country need and subsequently, in a speech at the Albert Einstein School of Medicine in New York in November 1964, Peace Corps Director Sargent Shriver discussed plans for increased emphasis on medical programs abroad. "These programs must be designed to involve relatively few highly-trained medical personnel", Shriver said, "but they must engage a great number of others throughout the country . . . we can use liberal arts graduates, giving them accelerated technical training, and putting them to work under trained medical leadership. For this, however, we need that leadership — we need hundreds of doctors and nurses and skilled technicians."

By June 1965, there were firm plans to train and send more doctors overseas than had served in the preceding four years of the Peace Corps.

Eighteen doctors were scheduled to enter training in mid-July. Some will be designated as Volunteer leaders. Under Peace Corps policies, this will permit them to take their wives and children with them. As with all other Peace Corps trainees, their per-

formance during training will be closely observed, and not until the end of training will final selection be made. In October 1965, those selected will depart for overseas service.

They will serve in seven different countries — Turkey, India, Afghanistan, Iran, Tunisia, Ethiopia and Malawi. Their assignments in the host countries will, of course, differ somewhat; however, it is now planned that each doctor will spend about one-third of his time in curative medicine or surgery; a third in teaching host-country doctors, medical students and health workers in village medical centers, and a third in disease prevention work.

In Iran, for example, four Peace Corps doctors will work as a team — two of them functioning principally in community health

Dr. Norman Haug, from Lakewood, Colo., is assigned to the Alor Star General Hospital, Kedah, Malaya. Dr. Haug and a hospital assistant are examining a boy suffering from malnutrition.

work, the other two in regular hospital teaching and staff work. All four will be working with young Iranian doctors. (Two of the four doctors' wives are trained nurses; they will be working in public health, also as Volunteers.)

The Nangrahar Medical School in Jalalabad, Afghanistan, is the newest of only two medical schools in the country. Established in 1963 to train doctors for provincial service, its staff of seven Afghan doctors and five technicians will soon be augmented by four Peace Corps Volunteer doctors.

All 18 doctors will be trained at Duke University in Durham, North Carolina, with the cooperation of staff from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The Universities will teach the seven necessary languages in addition to area studies, and will provide specialized medical training in diseases not usually found in the United States (such as filariasis, hookworm, bilharzia and hydatid disease). Depending upon the conditions in the various countries, training will also include techniques in mass immunization, disease control, nutrition, and water and sewage control.

The wives who are Volunteers will receive training appropriate to their assignments. Language training and courses in area studies will also be given to those wives who, because of family responsibilities, will not serve as Volunteers. Some of the children will sit in on the training programs as well.

Exchange Peace Corps

Five Indian volunteers, all of them English-speaking college graduates experienced in Indian community development, were scheduled to arrive in the United States in July 1965 to help train Peace Corps Volunteers bound for India. In September, the Indian volunteers will join a training program for VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America), and then take up assignments in America's war on poverty for the balance of their year's stay. In a sense a Peace Corps in reverse, this experimental program is exploring the potential for a world-wide exchange of volunteers while training qualified people who will return to work in their own countries' volunteer service programs.

For three months the Indian volunteers will teach Hindi and area studies to India-bound Peace Corps Volunteers at St. John's College, Annapolis, Maryland. Both groups will live and study together, familiarizing each other with their respective languages and culture. After the Peace Corps Volunteers leave for India, the Indian volunteers will undergo a brief VISTA training program at Columbia University School of Social Work and then

begin their assignments in urban community development in New York, New Haven, Philadelphia, and Cleveland, alongside VISTA Volunteers. Upon return to India, the Indian volunteers will involve themselves in their own country's national service efforts.

This program, which is being financed by a private foundation and by the Indian and United States governments, underscores the recognition that volunteers from every culture can make an important contribution to world social and economic development. Just as American Peace Corps Volunteers have brought their own culture to thousands of overseas communities, foreign volunteers in the United States can most dynamically bring theirs to American communities and classrooms. In any discussion of world affairs in the classroom, a volunteer teacher from Africa or Asia could add valuable perspective. In language studies, which are gaining greater emphasis in many American schools, a volunteer teacher from, say, Latin America would be a most welcome addition. In California, for example, a foreign language is now a requirement beginning in late elementary school, and thousands of language teachers are needed.

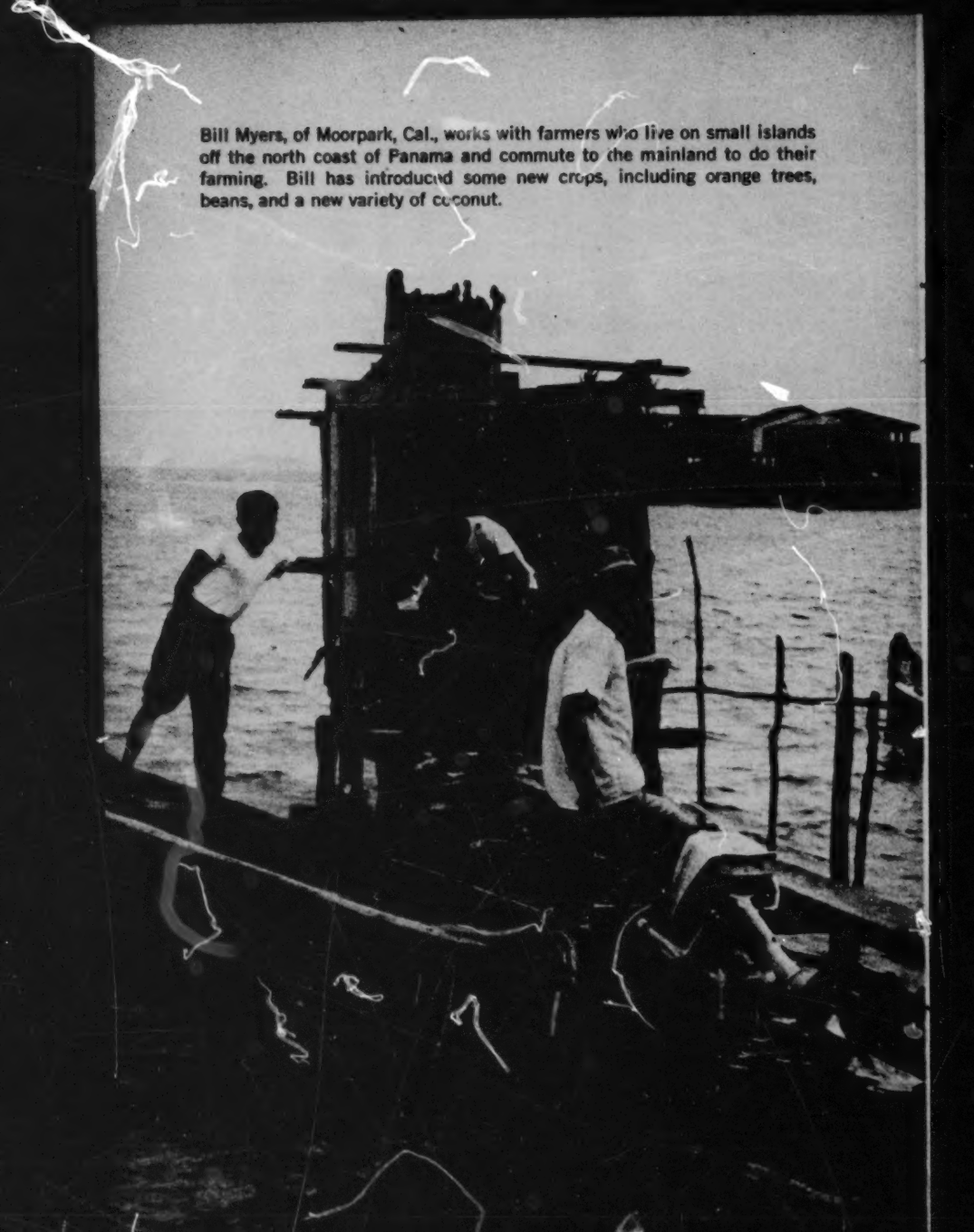
Social workers from other nations can also add a fresh approach to the growing anti-poverty programs in this country, especially when working among recently-arrived immigrants speaking the same language.

It is hoped that the five Indians now at work in America, and those who might follow, will go beyond their original vocational assignments, providing their knowledge and insights to community activities wherever they live. In turn, such an involvement would add much to their own understanding of America. The deeper the involvement in community life, as Peace Corps Volunteers learn overseas, the richer the experience for everyone concerned.

Through an exchange Peace Corps, it is felt, a genuinely international reservoir of skilled people might be created. A continual flow of volunteers from other countries would be coming to this country to work, then returning to their homelands to add new vitality to domestic programs, and perhaps, to work alongside Peace Corps Volunteers.

Voluntary Service Movement

With the encouragement of the United States Peace Corps and the International Secretariat for Volunteer Service, there were further developments in the field of voluntary service programs in 1965.



Bill Myers, of Moorpark, Cal., works with farmers who live on small islands off the north coast of Panama and commute to the mainland to do their farming. Bill has introduced some new crops, including orange trees, beans, and a new variety of coconut.

As of June 30, 1965, there were 14 foreign volunteer programs in existence, patterned along the lines of the Peace Corps, and more than 40 other countries were operating or planning programs similar to the VISTA and Job Corps operations in this country.

During the past year alone, Canada announced formation of a governmental "Company of Young Canadians", which will have 2,000 volunteers — half working at home and the other half abroad.

Liechtenstein, with a population under 20,000, announced its own volunteer program and sent its first two volunteers to Algeria and Tanzania.

The five organizations associated with the British Council of Service Overseas expanded their programs and sent 1,327 volunteers to 88 different countries and territories.

Japan began training 34 young men and women to work in countries of the Far East.

Argentina announced an integral plan of sending teachers and social workers to other countries in the Americas and to developing areas at home.

134 seniors at Haile Selassie I University completed one year of teaching and other work related to their studies in the first year of Ethiopian University Service.

More than 10,000 soldiers in Iran's new Education Corps opened public schools and taught adult literacy classes.

Expanded Language Training

Ability to speak and understand the language of the host country has often proved to be the most critical factor in the success or failure of Peace Corps Volunteers. Those Volunteers who are most effective in both their regular jobs and their personal relationships with the community usually also have the highest language competence.

Increasing recognition of that fact has made the Peace Corps the largest producer and consumer of language materials in the world. Language training has been intensified until trainees now devote approximately 300 hours, or more than half their instructional time, to this phase of their training. While few Volunteers can expect to attain mastery of the language spoken in their assigned locality, at least a modest degree of ability is essential. An increasing number of Volunteers are demonstrating that superior language training in this country, plus continued study and usage overseas, can greatly broaden their involvement in the lives of another people.

Since 1961, approximately 20,000 trainees have received language instruction in one or more of about 60 languages in the Peace Corps training curricula. Volunteers are expected to continue their language study while they are overseas; study materials, classes, or even local tutors are paid for by the Peace Corps.

The constant improvement of Peace Corps language instruction is helping to expand United States linguistic resources. Peace Corps programs are being developed for languages never before taught in this country and other languages perhaps never before formally taught anywhere. More foreign language teachers are being trained in effective new methods. Many colleges and universities are giving intensive language courses for the first time.

One of the most effective methods employed in Peace Corps training has been the "Immersion Environment", in which English is proscribed and only the language being studied is spoken. Native speakers of the language are usually employed, and often the culture of the country for which the trainee is bound is simulated as well, so that immersion in the language becomes complete.

Where the curriculum formerly focused on the major language of a given region, trainees may now receive instruction in obscure local dialects. For example, this year trainees for French-speaking African countries learned not only French but an indigenous regional language as well. These included Hausa and Djerma for Niger, Wolof for Senegal, Bassa for Cameroon, Baoule for the Ivory Coast, Fang for Gabon, Moroccan Arabic and Tunisian Arabic. New ones to be added soon are Susu for Guinea, Kanouri for Niger, Ewe for Togo, and Douala for Cameroon. As many as 20 additional languages are under consideration for inclusion in future training programs.

Experiments in Training

Traditionally, Peace Corps trainees prepare for overseas service in special programs set up for the Peace Corps at various colleges and universities. After three years of observing and learning from these programs, the Peace Corps decided to undertake one of its own, using members of its Washington staff and returned Volunteers as instructors.

This experiment began in the spring of 1964 at Camp Crozier, one of two Peace Corps training camps in Puerto Rico. A group of agriculture and community development workers bound for the Dominican Republic spent 11 weeks there, followed by three weeks working for various Puerto Rican agencies. This program, with its emphasis on realistic field work, proved so

effective that it has been repeated for many subsequent Peace Corps groups.

This year, the Peace Corps expanded this new approach to include another new training center of its own on St. Croix in the Virgin Islands. The trainees, in addition to their regular courses in language, area studies, etc., spend four hours each week improving the existing buildings on the site, as well as constructing sports and recreational facilities and a weather station. Trainees bound for a teaching project in Nigeria this winter will do three weeks of practice teaching in Virgin Islands schools.

The College of the Virgin Islands will provide consultants and administrative support, and the trainees will be expected to participate in educational and welfare programs of the local government.

As still another approach to making the training experience more realistic and engrossing, some Volunteers now receive part of their training in the country where they will serve. Two such programs are currently in their first phase at Princeton University, in New Jersey, and at Portland State College, in Oregon.

Around 200 trainees at Princeton will depart in July for Robert College in Istanbul, Turkey. During eight weeks of "on the job" training as English teachers they will be taught the Turkish language, and area studies, and they will conduct practice teaching classes in conversational English for 1,000 Turkish youths.

In July, also, some 60 trainees now at Portland State College will go to the Middle East Technical University near Ankara, Turkey, for training in rural community development work. During on-the-job-training they will live in mud brick houses in a partly abandoned village and will rebuild some of the dwellings. The male Volunteers will also make waterseal privies, build communal laundries, hot water facilities, iceless refrigerators and fruit presses. The female Volunteers will be trained in home improvement, sewing, canning and preserving, weaving, nutrition and child care.

The Trainees will travel by bus between the village and the University where they will be taught Turkish language and culture.

Beginning in early July, 33 trainees will get the first part of their training at the University of Missouri. The second part, consisting of on-the-job-training alongside Bolivian co-workers, will be at the Belen and Paracaya Centers of Bolivia's Rural Development Agency. The Volunteers will work with specially selected and trained Bolivians to develop local leadership in small villages in Bolivia's Altiplano.

V. BUDGET

As the number of Volunteers in the Peace Corps has risen, the cost per Volunteer has declined. In Fiscal Year 1965 decreased use of personnel on overtime reflected greater efficiency and resulted in reduced cost. International travel costs were reduced by use of overseas personnel to conduct completion of service conferences. The increasing availability of returned Volunteers who assist by recruiting near their homes helped cut the cost of recruiting. Staff employment increased by six during the period from 30 June 1963 to 30 June 1965, bringing the total staff to 1,061. In that same span of two years the number of trainees and Volunteers doubled, growing from 6,554 at the end of June, 1963 to 13,248 at the end of June, 1965.

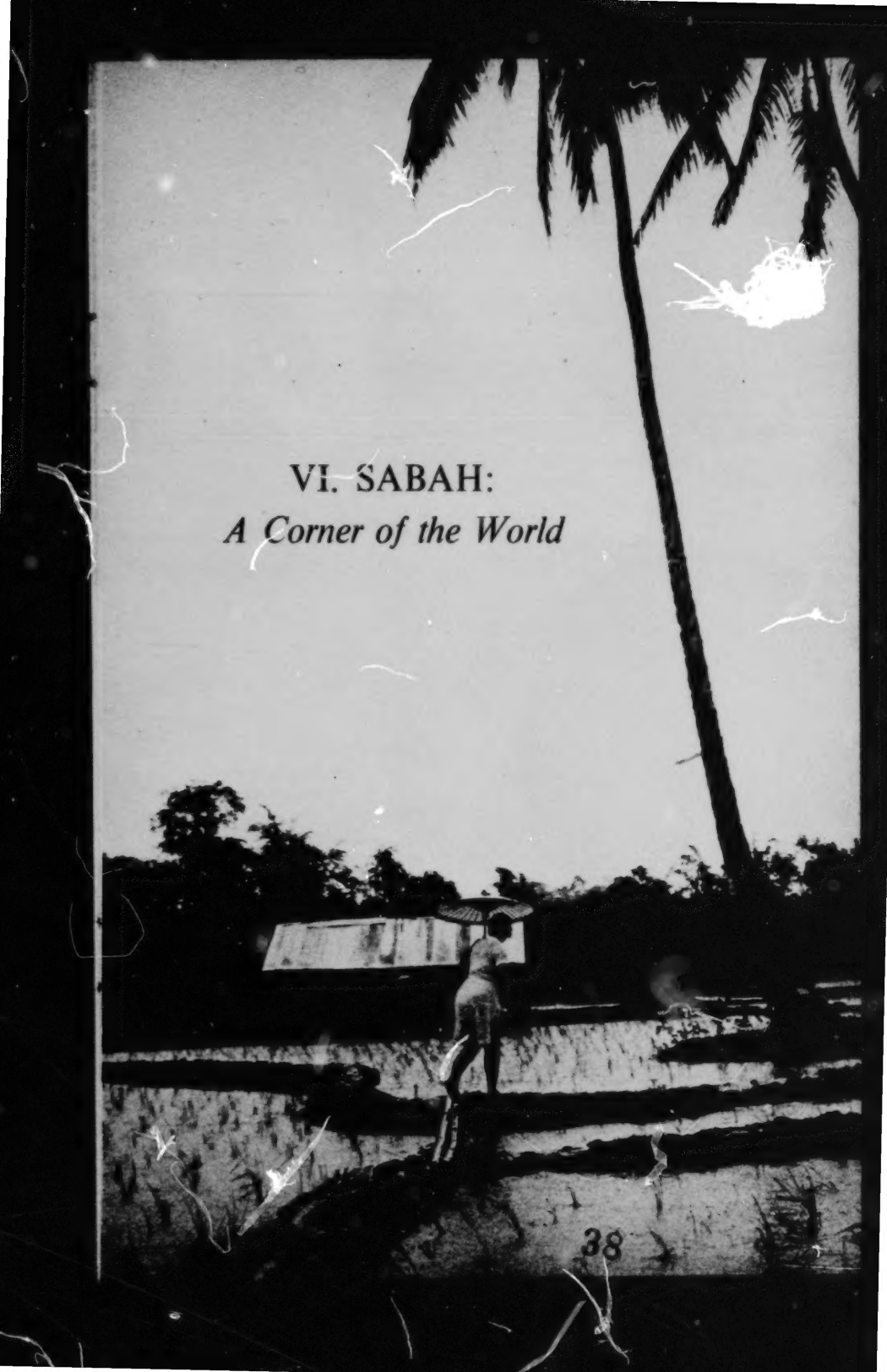
Host countries continued their contributions to the support of Peace Corps programs in their countries. In 1965 host country contributions amounted to $3.5 million as against $2.8 million in 1964. Total host country contributions since the initiation of the Peace Corps have exceeded $8 million.

In order to improve the training of Volunteers, the average length of training programs has been increased from 12 to 13 weeks, with some experimental programs running considerably longer. In particular, training now includes substantial field work, more intensive language study, some based on materials especially developed by the Peace Corps, and greater use of nationals from the host countries and small discussion groups rather than large lectures. The result has been far better training at somewhat greater cost.

The estimated average cost per Volunteer is set forth in the table below which compares fiscal 1963, 1964 and 1965 data with the forecast for 1966. An additional reduction in the average cost per Volunteer is expected in 1966 as a result of the increase in the average length of service and the implementation of further cost-saving actions.

ANNUAL COST PER VOLUNTEER

Fiscal Year 1963	$9,074
Fiscal Year 1964	$8,214
Fiscal Year 1965	$8,028
Fiscal Year 1966	$7,832



VI. SABAH:
A Corner of the World

Located on the South China Sea, Sabah (formerly North Borneo) begins, figuratively speaking, at Jesselton, its bustling capital city on the coast, and ends at Tambunan, a valley in the interior hemmed in by two mountain ranges.

Though it is remote, there is nothing wild about Tambunan. It is quiet, pastoral, and orderly; the ancient cycle of planting, cultivation, and harvesting goes on undisturbed. Moreover it is important, for it is located in one of Sabah's chief rice-producing regions.

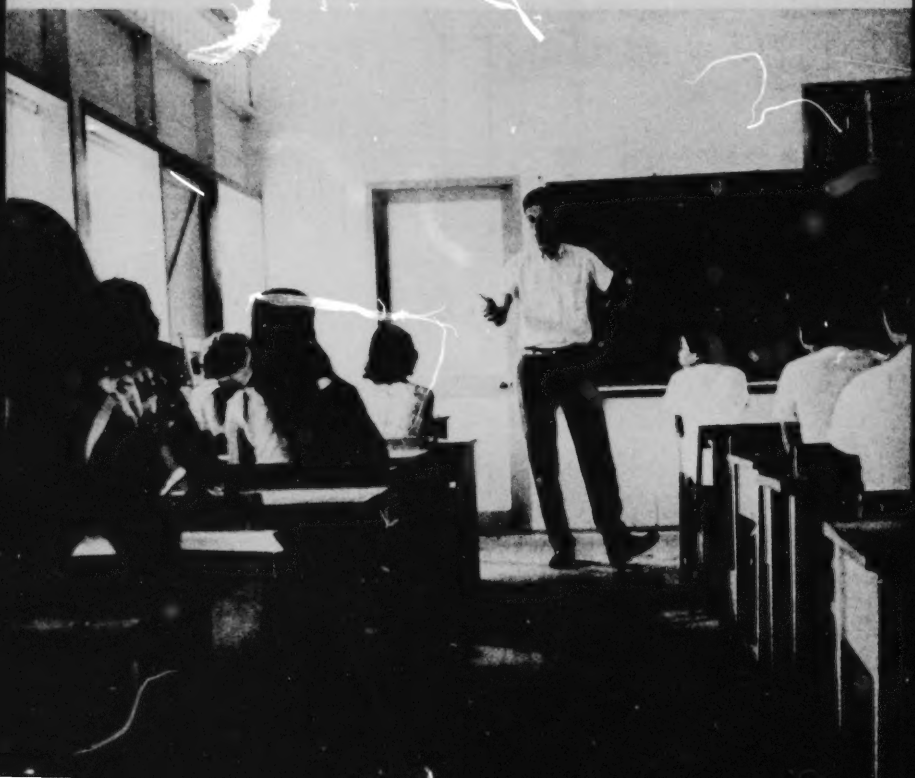
Ron Kuhl, a gregarious 24-year-old from Elkins, West Virginia, arrived in Sabah a year ago as one of about 60 Volunteers assigned to teach English in the primary schools. After the difficult trip to Tambunan — part of it on foot — he plunged into a demanding schedule that includes 40 sessions of English a week at the local government school.

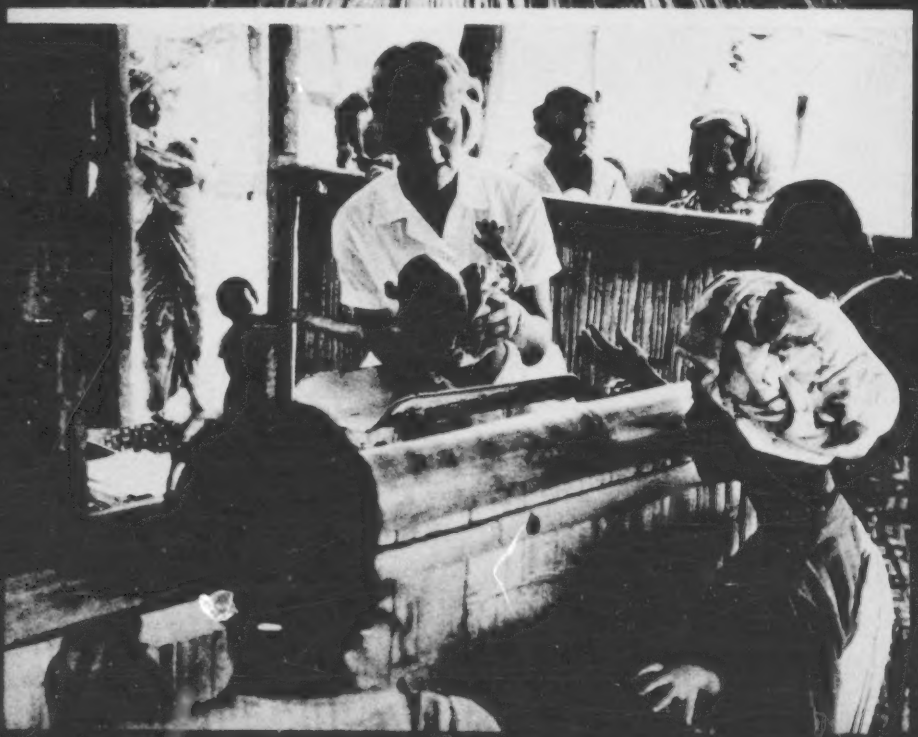
The fly rod Ron optimistically brought with him stands unused

in a corner. When classes are finished he generally holds open house for the village children. Toward evening he frequently drops in at a Chinese "Kadai" (general store) where most of the valley's business and social life is centered. On his way home at dusk, he makes his way across the rice paddies, sometimes stopping at a student's house for a visit with the family.

In a short year he has become a familiar part of the local scene. What is helping most, Ron feels, is the Malay language. During a school vacation, he persuaded his headmaster and two other teachers to tutor him in the language eight hours a day in three shifts. "It gave me a headache," he says, but he continues to study. Difficult Malay words are tacked around the walls of his house like posters, and his headmaster still drops in two nights a week for a two-hour tutoring session by lantern light.

What it has meant to him in his work, he says, is this: "People are beginning to talk to me about personal things. I'm becoming just another person around here, and that's the way I want it."





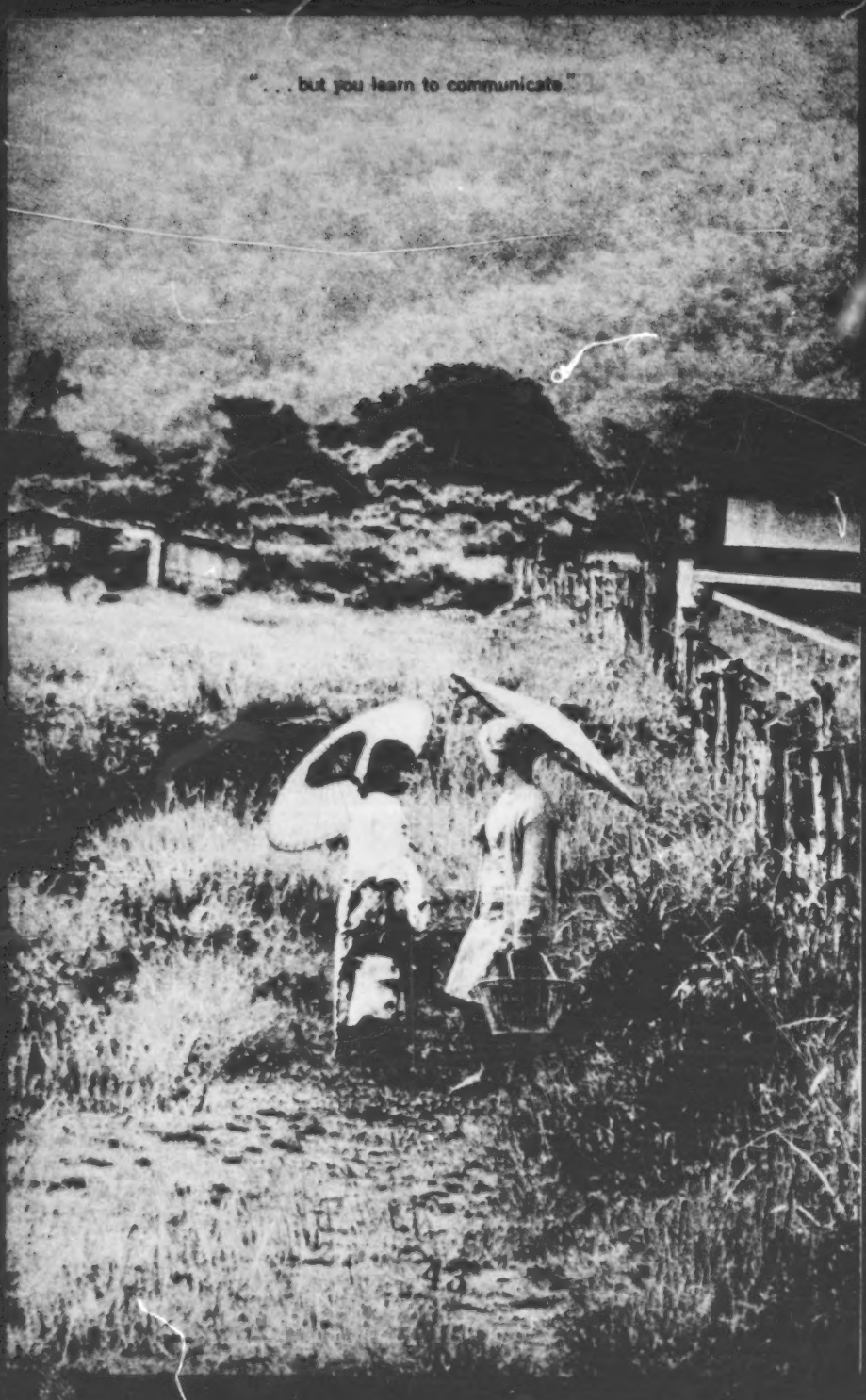
Another Peace Corps Volunteer in the Tambunan district is Beth Halkola, a rural public health nurse from Lake Linden, Michigan. Known to everyone as "Sister", Beth is attached to one of many government-run dispensaries scattered throughout the country. Most of her work is done in eight outlying rural clinics which she visits each week.

Beth works with two local public health nurses; together, they make their rounds in the dispensary's UNICEF Land Rover, with Beth riding in front balancing a canister of vaccines on her lap.

Most clinics in Tambunan are structures of bamboo and tin, with an earthen floor, open on three sides, and containing a few old pieces of furniture. By the time the health crew reaches the clinic, up to 80 mothers and children may be waiting for them. The children are weighed and given inoculations against the usual childhood diseases. Should a child need something more than routine treatment, the Land Rover serves as an ambulance for the trip back to the dispensary.

At 2:00 p.m., Beth starts on her home visits, through the paddies and down slippery roads. Most of her patients speak Kadazan, and do not understand Malay. So twice a week, she comes in from the field for a Kadazan lesson.

Beth, too, has begun to feel acclimated in Tambunan. "You slowly discover the things you need to be content. It takes time," she says, "but you learn to communicate."


". . . but you learn to communicate."

VII. THE RETURNING VOLUNTEER

By June 30, 1965, 4,545 Volunteers had completed service and returned to the United States. Some 54 per cent of them changed their career plans while serving in developing nations overseas, and the great majority of those who had no career goal when they joined the Peace Corps found one in the course of their Peace Corps service.

The most significant trend in career choices was in the direction of teaching, both among those who originally planned to enter other fields and those who had no definite plans. In all, one third of the returned Volunteers who have gone to work have gone into teaching.

Approximately fifty per cent of the former Volunteers have returned to school, to seek graduate degrees or to finish their undergraduate education. During the 1964-65 school year, at least 320 Volunteers held scholarships, fellowships and assistantships, worth over $612,400, at some 60 institutions.

Others channeled their commitment to the Peace Corps idea into further public service. Eleven per cent work for the federal government, and 13 per cent went into local or state government, Civil Rights work and non-profit organizations (such as the United Nations, and social service agencies).

Over 75 former Volunteers are working in federal, state and local poverty programs. The majority work as teachers or counselors in Job Corps camps; 24 are helping to plan and administer the Poverty program in Washington. Returning Volunteers have also held a number of special human rights internships under the auspices of the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation.

A substantial number of returning Volunteers are taking jobs with private industry at home and overseas. Agriculture, business, and self-employment account for 20 per cent of the former Volunteers now at work.

The Peace Corps' Career Information Service functions as a job and scholarship "clearinghouse" for the returning Volunteer, informing him of job openings in business, government, on college and public school faculties. It also keeps the "Establishment" aware of the availability of returning Volunteers with the skills and background best suited to its needs.

The Career Information Service reports that during the past year major progress was made in reducing teacher certification barriers faced by returning Volunteers. The California State Board of Education led the way by agreeing to award a general teaching certificate to any former Peace Corps teacher with a bachelor's degree and major requirements in the academic field to be taught. The California State legislature then passed a bill creating a new certification category for returning Peace Corps teachers.

The Peace Corps' School-to-School Program began in 1964 with a pilot project in Colombia and possible projects in two other countries. By June, 1965, over 50 schools were either completed or under construction in 14 countries: Ethiopia, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Somalia, Tanzania, Philippines, Brazil, Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Peru, Honduras, and West Pakistan. The schools in each country are sponsored by a United States school whose students raise about $1,000 for the purchase of building materials. In each country, people of the community provide the labor for construction, working with Peace Corps Volunteers.

The school in first stages of construction above is being built by villagers in Babol, Iran, with the assistance of Volunteer Ian Smith, who is from Annapolis, Md.

More states seem headed in the same direction. In New York, Kentucky and Washington, the chief state school officer urged all teacher training institutions and school superintendents to fully utilize the talents of Peace Corps teachers and encouraged the review of their qualifications on an individual basis. New York State went a step further, appointing a consultant to study the most effective ways to use Peace Corps teachers.

Special teaching internships were developed by a number of cities, permitting returning Volunteers to teach while earning certification.

A detailed summary of the activities of returned Volunteers as of June 30, 1965, follows:

CONTINUING EDUCATION	TOTAL	
Graduate School		
Social studies, including area studies	357	
Humanities, including journalism and language	92	
Technical, including engineering, science, math, architecture, etc.	140	
Health, recreation & physical education	41	
Education	183	
Law	52	
Business & Management	20	
Agriculture Forestry	15	
Other fields & not specified	51	
Overseas	26	
Total Graduate	977	(26%)
Undergraduate education		
Social studies, including area studies	170	
Humanities, including journalism & language	60	
Technical, including engineering, science, math, architecture, etc.	84	
Health, recreation, & physical education	20	
Education	54	
Business Management	15	
Agriculture Forestry	60	
Other fields & not specified	64	
Overseas	2	
Total Undergraduate	529	(13%)
TOTAL CONTINUING EDUCATION	1506	(39%)*

* This figure does not include those former Volunteers who finished their schooling during the year and found employment.

EMPLOYED	TOTAL	
Federal Government		
Peace Corps	189	
State Department	11	
AID	44	
USIA	7	
War on Poverty (Federal only)	24	
All other domestic agencies	146	
Congressional staff	2	
Total Federal	423	(11%)
State and Local Government		
State Government	36	
County Government	53	
Municipal Government	34	
Total State and Local	123	(4%)
Job Corps Centers		
Teachers	11	
Administrators/Technicians	11	
Not Specified	23	
Total Job Corps	45	(1%)
International organizations and Foreign Governments		
United Nations	7	
Foreign Governments:		
Teaching	16	
Other	8	
International organizations	2	
Total international	33	(1%)
Teaching		
Elementary teacher or administrator	114	
Secondary teacher or administrator	265	
Special education	23	
College teacher, administrator or employee (includes secretaries, researchers, etc.)	92	
Overseas teachers or administrators	22	
Peace Corps training site teachers & administrators	39	
Total teachers	555	(15%)

Non-profit organizations

Health worker	91	
Labor Union worker	5	
Social service worker	109	
War on Poverty contractor	7	
All non-profit overseas	34	
Total non-profit	246	(7%)

Profit-making organizations

Agriculture & related	30	
Business:		
Secretarial & clerical	26	
Management	61	
Technical	58	
Sales & retail	37	
Semi-skilled	58	
Other	64	
Communications	18	
Self employed, professional	19	
All profit organizations overseas	30	
Total profit making	401	(11%)
TOTAL EMPLOYED	1826	(49%)

OTHER

Extended/re-enrolled	182	
Housewife	160	
Military	40	
Traveling	32	
Retired	12	
TOTAL OTHER	426	(11%)
GRAND TOTALS	3758	(100%)

Summary of Overseas Careers

Employed by the Peace Corps or other Federal agency with international interests	251
Studying overseas	28
Employed overseas other than U. S. agency	119
Extended Peace Corps service or traveling	214
Total in Overseas Careers	612

War on Poverty Employment

Employed by the Office of Economic Opportunity	24
Employed by OEO Contractors	52
Total War on Poverty Employment	76

The Conference

From March 5-7, 1965, over 1000 former Volunteers voluntarily underwent a concentrated form of public scrutiny, officially designated as the first Conference on the Returned Peace Corps Volunteer (sub-titled "Citizen in a Time of Change").

Held in the State Department in Washington, D. C., the Conference was attended by 250 leaders of the American "Establishment." College and corporation presidents, ambassadors, Congressmen, political journalists, government agency heads, the Secretaries of State and Defense, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, a Special Assistant to the President, and the Vice President were among those who came to engage in serious, unprecedented, and occasionally heated discussions with the Volunteers.

The subjects were politics, government, business, labor, education, international service and local communities. The Volunteers present represented one-third of their number in the United States at that time. They saw in the Conference a chance to put on record, and to impress on the minds of their influential guests, how they felt about their two years of service in developing nations — and most of all, how they felt it equipped them to deal with difficult and challenging work in the United States.

The guests, by and large, came to the Conference already pre-disposed toward the Peace Corps, but, like so many Americans, more in the abstract than in its particulars. Some attended primarily to indicate their support of the Peace Corps, others to analyze the calibre of the returning Volunteers, still others to openly test them. A few came shamelessly to recruit.

A member of the Philadelphia Board of Education told the Volunteers:

> We desperately need teachers in all the large urban school systems. If we could work it we could take as many as five or six hundred of you, and would love nothing better. We think you have a special kind of motivation which too many people do not have.

Public opinion expert Elmo Roper, who participated in the panel discussion on local communities, noted the returned Volunteers' impatience to "shake things up," and offered this endorsement: "Of all the groups I've met recently, there is none I would rather see batter down the walls of the Establishment than [this one]."

"But don't expect a bed of roses," warned Abram Chayes, the former Legal Advisor to the State Department. "No establishment ever welcomes the agents of change."

action. For us, as Volunteers, a little baffled by America, hesitant to give up on our own ideals and unwilling to join the Establishment as we find it, this kind of political action affords an opportunity to engage creatively in the same kind of action here at home that we found abroad. I suspect that such creative, active involvement with others is what we miss most. But it is here, it is here — we must find it. If we do not, we will ourselves become aliens.

NBC news commentator Ray Scherer, who attended the Conference, noted that through it, the returned Volunteers had "reaffirmed their sense of commitment."

Political journalist Richard Rovere, another Conference guest, wrote in a subsequent issue of *The New Yorker:*

> There are only 3,300 of these exhilarated and highly intelligent young people at large in this country at the present time, but by 1970 there are expected to be about 50,000 of them. If large numbers of them infiltrate federal, state and local governments and the educational system, the impact of the Peace Corps will be great — great enough, perhaps, to threaten its existence.

Letters from Home

In spite of the largely favorable attention given the Conference by the nation's press, much of the reporting was vague. The mood of the Volunteers was characterized often in conflicting adjectives, some accounts were second-hand and fragmentary, and one, written before the Conference actually took place, greatly exaggerated the frustrations of the returned Volunteers.

Far too much has been said, for example, about the so-called "re-entry crisis" — a peculiar syndrome in which the returned Volunteer supposedly has trouble communicating, trouble finding a job, and trouble finding himself. To one degree or another, most Volunteers do experience such difficulties in the homecoming; however, few would describe it as a "crisis." As the statistics on pages 7-13 indicate, the overwhelming majority of Volunteers are usefully occupied either in jobs or on the campus. But the communications from former Volunteers reprinted in the section that follows help to explain how the Peace Corps experience retains its hold on them long after it is finished, and why the search for a parallel experience remains important.

* * *

Linda Bergthold joined the Peace Corps upon graduation from U.C.L.A. in June 1962. Along with her husband, Gary,

she served as a Volunteer for two years in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, where she taught English to 11th and 12th graders at the Haile Selassie I Day School. Gary now works at Peace Corps headquarters, and Linda teaches in a Washington, D. C., high school. The following letter was written by Linda to a friend earlier this year:

As you know I've been pretty restless ever since we came back from Ethiopia. At first it was great seeing old friends and talking about the Peace Corps. But after the sixty-third comment, "Yes, now let's see . . . Ethiopia is over there by India, isn't it?" we got tired of trying to explain what it was really like.

Settling back into American life was not without its own kind of "culture shock". I became well acquainted with Washington, D. C., as I pounded the streets looking for an apartment, and I didn't like what I saw. I've been trying for months to put my feelings into words, but it's very difficult. I suppose poverty does essentially the same things to people all over the world; yet to me it seems worse here in Washington than it was in Addis Ababa. There were more poor people in Addis but there was not the tragedy of comparison — the wealthy were not so visible, so elusively accessible. A woman living on 1st and L Sts., N.W., Washington, is only three blocks away from the downtown area where she can watch other people buying electric can openers. She probably works in a spacious Chevy Chase house during the day and comes home at night to a three-room apartment crammed with people, rats, roaches and the smell of urine.

Poverty in Africa just didn't hurt as much. Why not? Was it because it was not *our* responsibility, our people? Was it tolerable because it was in a foreign place? Were we able to be more effective because we could keep an emotional distance? I don't know the answers. I do know that it has hit me hard back home and I had to become involved. I applied for a teaching position in one of Washington's worst slum schools.

Several months later I was offered a job as a temporary teacher of English in a high school. I decided that this was my chance to find out what I could do. This high school was in the poorest section of the city. When I went over to take a look at it, I must admit I was scared. I had heard so many terrible things about knifings and fights in these schools. You can imagine how foolish I felt when I saw everything running in a very smooth and orderly way. I accepted the assignment, figuring that it couldn't be that bad, and if it were, the year was almost over. So much for my motivations.

If I protest too much you won't believe me. I seem to have

the same problem explaining Washington that I had explaining Ethiopia and the PC. I don't think it's an exaggeration to say that the past few months have been the most exciting of my entire life. I hate sounding like a "living testimonial" for deodorant, but I'm sold on slum school teaching. I think my success in Washington was due mainly to what happened to me in the Peace Corps.

I won't bore you with the details. Naturally there were some rough spots; but at the end of the year I could list some partial victories: a 200 lb. girl who finally volunteered to read a dramatic part in front of the class; at least 50 samples of original dramatic scenes written during a unit on drama; a touching poem written by a real tough kid who had never shown any interest in school before; a girl who said she didn't think of me as being "white" anymore.

I didn't work any miracles. This experience was not unique; in fact, lots of other teachers had similar things happen to them. There was only one difference: they got more frustrated in the process, and they tended to regard their successes as minor when stacked up against their failures. It was only a matter of perspective.

"Middle-class values" is just a cliché term until something *you* believe in is threatened.

Both in Ethiopia and Washington, D. C., I learned that there were profound differences in attitude between me and my students. In Ethiopia I was shocked at the blatant cooperation of my students on examinations. To them it was the logical thing to do — one helped out his friend in time of need. It was simply a matter of loyalty. To me it was cheating. In Washington there were differences too. When I asked the students to turn in a paper on Friday, I didn't reckon with military drill after school, televisions blaring at home, and very little value put on "getting things in on time."

If a teacher isn't prepared for such differences in attitude and behavior, he may eventually give up and leave. What makes teachers stay in these situations? In Ethiopia I stayed partly because I had a big responsibility on my shoulders. I was not just representing myself, I was representing the United States Peace Corps. Some of our neighbor children used to call us "yinya ferenj" which means "*our* foreigner". To some of our students we were the only Americans they had ever known. Naturally I felt obligated to stay and do the best job I could. I think this might have implications for the National Education

Peace Corps Director Sargent Shriver introduces the next speaker at Returned Volunteers Conference in State Department auditorium.

Vice President Humphrey admonished them on a loftier note:

> I ask you not to lose your sense of idealism . . . I ask you to help America achieve its old dreams . . . Let America continue to be what it was meant to be: a place for the renewal of the human spirit. And you, my dear fellow Americans, have come back with the zeal and the fai[illegible] renew that human spirit.

To Bill Moyers, Special Assistant to the President, (and former Deputy Director of the Peace Corps), the returned Volunteer was "a person with a split personality — wondering on the one hand if he can really make a difference, and knowing that he *must* make a difference."

Moyers added that if the Volunteers did not think themselves "special", they would "disappear into the bog of affluent living — you *won't* make a difference."

George Johnson, who served in Tanzania as an engineer and is presently a law student at Yale, defined the challenge to the returned Volunteer in similar terms:

> Just as we had hoped that Volunteers were the agents for change abroad, so we can be agents of change here at home by involving ourselves in the new forms of political

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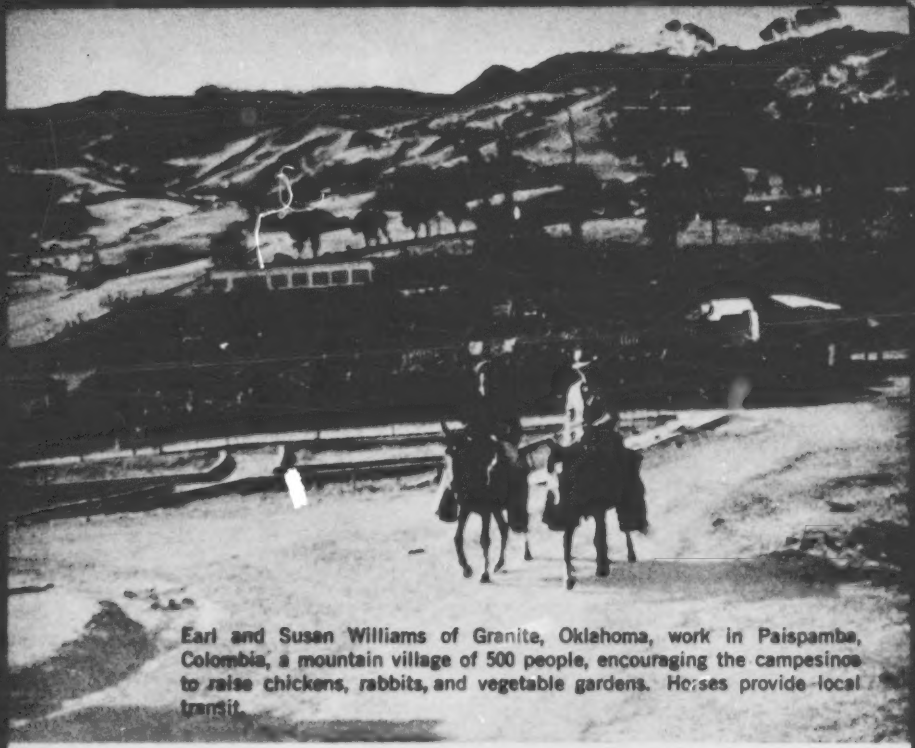

Earl and Susan Williams of Granite, Oklahoma, work in Paispamba, Colombia, a mountain village of 500 people, encouraging the campesinos to raise chickens, rabbits, and vegetable gardens. Horses provide local transit.

If a campesino builds the rabbit shelter, Williams provides the rabbits, and the advice.

Association and some of our teacher organizations here in the United States. Can we make our teachers feel so much a part of an organization or a profession that they feel an obligation to it and a love for it? Can we give them enough support and security so that they don't turn and run when things get tough?

Immersing yourself in a totally different culture is sometimes more like drowning than swimming. It's very difficult to explain how "different" Ethiopia was: the smells, language, food, housing . . . the different faces and expressions. I had to learn to read faces as if I were learning another language. An idiom in Amharic can't be translated directly into English, and neither can a facial expression. That "inscrutable" look might conceal great emotion or curiosity, so I couldn't say the students weren't interested because they didn't *look* interested. While almost drowning, I learned one very important thing about teaching students who were very different from me. I was almost as incomprehensible to them as they were to me. My combination of Right Guard, Gleem, Yardley and Revlon Hair Spray was just as "repulsive" in a sense as 35 pairs of worn tennis shoes.

In Ethiopia, besides the support I received from the Peace Corps, I also had the support of my fellow Peace Corps teachers. We could talk to each other about mutual problems. For instance, I remember asking a friend one day, "Why are those students so rude? This one kid got up in class and said to me, 'Madam!' They always called me 'madam' — I tried to explain that it meant something different in my country, but — 'Madam! it would be better if we read aloud today'." I was very upset because I felt that he was trying to tell me what to do. My fellow Peace Corps teacher replied, "Yes, that sounds familiar. Some of my students have been saying that, and I finally found out that it is a direct translation from the Amharic. The closest translation in English is more like 'Could we possibly read aloud in class?' and it isn't meant to be rude at all."

Another thing that helped me in my first teaching experience was excellent supervision by a teacher who had been in Ethiopia for ten years. She was able to help me over some of my roughest spots. I'm sorry to say that I have not found anyone that helpful in the United States. I have not found the comradeship. There seems to be a subtle one-upmanship, a gamesmanship going on among teachers. If you come into the coffee room to tell something exciting that has happened, the other teacher might answer, "Oh, yes, that happened to me five years ago when . . ." and she's off on a personal anecdote. What you really wanted was someone to listen to you and sympathize with you.

One of the things I enjoyed most about the Peace Corps was the freedom to experiment and develop new curricula. While I was in Ethiopia I had very few books and so I taught English as a foreign language for two years without texts. I was forced to rely on other sources and to be imaginative. It was a very good experience for me; I'm not so sure how good it was for the students. When I came back to the United States, eager to innovate and put my experiences to work, one school principal said to me, "We are not an experimental school, Mrs. Bergthold. We cannot *afford* to experiment with the lives of these young children." I wanted to go back.

Of all the reasons I stay in teaching, the most important by far is the students themselves and being able to touch them in a meaningful way.

What I learned in the Peace Corps was to view things in a new way. I think I had to go all the way to Addis to do it. It had to be a trauma, a crisis. It had to be that long trip from Pasadena to make the shorter one to Washington a less painful adjustment. People can talk and talk about cultural differences and one can nod wisely; but it takes an immersion, a plunge, perhaps a nosedive, to really understand.

* * *

Albert C. Ulmer of Indian Rocks, Florida, joined the Peace Corps after receiving his Masters Degree from Florida State University in 1961. After two years as a Volunteer in Nigeria, he went into civil rights work in the South. He wrote the following letter to Peace Corps Director Sargent Shriver early last March:

Dear Sargent Shriver:

Sunday evening I left the Returned Volunteer Conference . . . If there was any theme evident during the weekend's workshops and speeches it was "get involved" in this time of change. I had come to the conference hopeful of the chance to talk about ways volunteers could work in the civil rights movement, especially as it exists in the South. There was not a large representation from the South however and many of the problems we discussed in the local community workshops I attended were those of the future, not of the present.

Monday evening my work with the Council took me to Selma, Alabama. I drove a car from the Montgomery Airport taking great care not to exceed the speed limit because a Negro minister was one of our passengers and if we were stopped the chance

Flavia Williams is assigned to the Sultan Ibrahim girls' school in Johore Baru, Malaysia. Flavia, from Baltimore, Md., teaches science, mathematics, and English and also works as a laboratory technician in a nearby hospital.

of being charged with some fictitious violation was more than good. Another man, also a minister, rode with us. His name was James Reeb.

The march they say was a success for both sides. A remarkable engineering job said others. I'm not sure I know if the march was either, in fact, I'm not exactly sure why the march was. I do know, however, that all the men who are qualified to vote in the South cannot do so and that policemen wait like hungry animals to pounce on their prey, clubbing and kicking.

But you know these things I'm sure, as do many other people in the establishment, whatever that is. The question is, what are you going to do about it?

You and many others at the conference mentioned the necessity of our working within the establishment, the government, politics, etc. I am not sure I want to or even if I could if I wanted to, for the establishment here in the South is what we are fighting not joining. But you are part of a larger establishment, one which has the power to change some of the things so very badly needing change here in my homeland. I guess in

a way as a Volunteer in Nigeria I helped make you a part of the establishment.

You asked at the conference what we were doing now that we were home. Well, last Monday night I took Reverend Reeb to Selma so that he could march in protest to voting discrimination and repeated police brutality. They say he is going to die tonight and I'm kind of wondering what, if he dies, we can say he died for.

What I guess I really want to know is what you and the rest of whatever the establishment is are going to do about voting and police brutality here in the South, because we're outnumbered here and we need your help.

Al Ulmer

* * *

In May 1964, Dennis P. Murphy returned from Nepal, where he had been a Peace Corps science and math teacher, and went to work for the Lockheed Missiles and Space Company near San Francisco. The following letter was addressed to a friend on the Peace Corps staff in Washington:

In spite of the objectively limited success most Volunteers would claim, I feel that Peace Corps service generally has a profound and lasting influence on us. But I had best speak only for myself, lest I be accused of misrepresenting the famed individuality of the Peace Corps Type.

Personally, it has broadened my horizons to an invaluable degree, and awakened a restlessness which may or may not diminish with passing time and events. As an educational experience it was unique; as a humanistic experience it was — well, I'm not sure whether it is possible to love people in the mass, but I don't know how else to describe my feeling for the Gurkhali hillmen of Nepal.

Socially, it has demolished my vague and rather comfortable disapproval of Want And Injustice In The World, and replaced it with what can be typified by the nagging question which annoys me these days whenever I annihilate a good-sized steak: how many of *my* personal acquaintances in Nepal have died of malnutrition since I've been gone? If this seems rather a morbid and exaggerated thought, remember that Nepal's agricultural and economic condition is unusually underdeveloped. I once was watching a stray dog in a town bazaar for about five minutes. It wandered in circles for a bit, then quietly lay down, and in a moment was unobtrusively dead. The rib-cage of the body bore a remarkable resemblance to those of some of the people who were passing by at that moment.

Being of solid, traditional Irish peasant stock, I tended to

A major part of the Peace Corps effort in Uruguay is the organization and direction of 4-H clubs. Irene Bechtel of Ackworth, Iowa, is shown above with a 4-H sewing class in San Javier in the northern part of the country. She also works with several other 4-H groups on a wide variety of projects.

prefer the company of the uneducated, unaffected Nepalese to that of many of those of the more privileged classes. While keeping such company I was sometimes impressed with how much potential these illiterate, circumscribed people exhibit and by their eagerness for improvement; and was very depressed by considering the probability of their developing their potential. Before becoming concerned with a "great society" I feel concerned about the problems of basic necessity. I find it difficult to think of social evils in the abstract any more. I don't know whether "poverty" is an evil; all I know is that I have walked with hungry people, and called some of them friends. I don't understand the intricacies of international economics, so the gold drain doesn't personally disturb me; but I have *seen* districts where money was worthless, simply because there was nothing to buy with it.

Politically, my Peace Corps experience has — if you will forgive me a moment of dewy-eyed flag waving — rather made a patriot of me. I think that I had never realized before how extraordinary and remarkable, for all its foibles and imperfections, the day-to-day working-out of our American government really is. But at the same time it has given me a more objective view of what the position of the United States in the world is.

Getting a fresh perspective on things at the Livingstonia school in Malawi, two students and Volunteer Tom Cooper dangle in the schoolyard. Tom, who coaches athletics, is from Sturgis, N. D.

If you cannot understand why the rest of the world doesn't love us more for our generosity and democratic way of life, identify for a couple of years with a small, harassed country in Asia. Look at the United States from a distance of ten thousand miles and see a strange foreign giant making deals with and struggling with other giants — an essentially amiable giant perhaps (you hope), but nevertheless when giants struggle little people sometimes get stepped on. I have gained more appreciation for the immensity of the difficulties which challenge our government in the international sphere, and a great deal of respect for the talent and ability with which, on the whole, it meets them.

The reasons are complex, the attempt to explain adequately could run on for pages; but the essence of the fruit of this experience politically has been that I have moved a considerable distance from being a resident of the United States to being a citizen of the United States.

Finally there comes the big question: After the Peace Corps, What? At present I am working in the aerospace industry. There was a time when I was fascinated with the prospect of being involved with man's conquest of space. Now I find myself more concerned with the prospects for man on earth. I would

like to return to Asia in a professional capacity, on a career basis, but such opportunities, especially for someone educated in the sciences, seem few and far between. And after the Peace Corps one hates to settle for anything less. So now I am working at fitting into the affluent society again and achieving a position in it — while at night I dream of a hardy, jovial mountain people and the mountains they walk.

* * *

David Schickele served as an English teacher in Nigeria from 1961-1963, assigned to the University of Nigeria at Nsukka. Since returning to the United States, he has been involved in film-making. The following article by Schickele is reprinted from the Swarthmore College Bulletin:

'WHEN THE RIGHT HAND WASHES THE LEFT'

A Volunteer who served in Nigeria looks back on his Peace Corps experience:

The favorite parlor sport during the Peace Corps training program was making up cocky answers to a question that was put to us 17 times a day by the professional and idle curious alike: Why did you join the Peace Corps? To the Peace Corps training official, who held the power of deciding our futures, we answered that we wanted to help make the world a better place in which to live; but to others we were perhaps more truthful in talking about poker debts or a feeling that the Bronx Zoo wasn't enough. We resented the question because we sensed it could be answered well only in retrospect. We had no idea exactly what we were getting into, and it was less painful to be facetious than to repeat the idealistic clichés to which the question was always a veiled invitation.

I am now what is known as an ex-Volunteer (there seems to be some diffidence about the word "veteran"), having spent 20 months teaching at the University of Nigeria at Nsukka in West Africa. And now I am ready to answer the question.

My life at Nsukka bore little resemblance to the publicized image of Peace Corps stoicism — the straw mat and kerosene lamp syndrome. The university, though 50 miles from anything that could be called a metropolis, was a large international community unto itself, full of Englishmen, Indians, Pakistanis, Germans, and, of course, Nigerians. I lived in a single room in a student dormitory, a modern if treacherous building with running water at least four days a week and electricity when the weather was good. I ate primarily Western food in a cafeteria. I owned a little motorcycle and did my share of traveling and

roughing it, but the bulk of my life was little different from university life in the States, with a few important exceptions.

In the first place, the university was only a year old when I arrived, and a spirit of improvisation was required at all times and in all areas, particularly the teaching of literature without books. The library was still pretty much a shell, and ordered books took a minimum of six weeks to arrive if one was lucky, and I never talked to anyone who was. The happier side of this frantic coin was that in the absence of organization many of us had practically unlimited freedom in what and how we were to teach, and we made up our courses as we went along according to what materials were available and our sense of what the students needed. This was a tricky freedom which I still blame, in my weaker moments, for my worst mistakes; but it allowed an organic approach to the pursuit of an idea with all its nooks and crannies, an approach long overdue for students trained in the unquestioning acceptance of rigid syllabi.

The longer I was there the more I became involved with a nucleus of students, and the weaker became the impulse to disappear over the weekend on my motorcycle in search of external adventure. My social and professional lives slowly fused into

In the village of Conceicao do Castelo, Brazil, George Seay has started a gardening club as one of his community development projects. George is from Buffalo, New York.

one and the same thing. I shared an office with another Volunteer, and we were there almost every evening from supper until late at night, preparing classes and talking to students, who learned that we were always available for help in their work or just bulling around . . . We sponsored poetry and short-story contests and founded a literary club which was the liveliest and most enjoyable organization I've ever belonged to, joyfully subject to the imperative of which all remote areas have the advantage: if you want to see a Chekhov play, you have to put it on yourself.

In some ways I was more alive intellectually at Nsukka than I was at Swarthmore, due in part to the fact that I worked much harder at Nsukka, I'm afraid, than I did at Swarthmore, and to the fact that one learns more from teaching than from studying. But principally it has to do with the kind of perspective necessary in the teaching of Western literature to a people of a different tradition, and the empathy and curiosity necessary in teaching African literature to Africans. It is always an intellectual experience to cross cultural boundaries.

At the most elementary level, it is a challenge to separate thought from mechanics in the work of students who are not writing in their native language. Take, for example, the following paragraph, written, I would emphasize, not by a university student, but by a cleaning man at the university in a special course:

TITLE: "I enjoy certain tasks in my work but others are not so enjoyable."

"It sings a melody in my poor mind, when a friend came to me and said that: I enjoy certain tasks in my work, but others are not so enjoyable. I laughed and called him by his name, then I asked him what is the task in your work. He answered me and then added, for a period of five years, I have being seriously considering what to do to assist his self as an orphan, in this field of provision. That he should never play with the task of his work. But others who are not so enjoyable could not understand the bitterness to his orphanship. He said to those who are not so enjoyable that they have no bounding which hangs their thoughts in a dark room."

I regard this passage with joy, not to say a little awe, but beneath its exotic and largely unconscious poetic appeal there is a man trying to say something important, blown about in the wilderness of an unfamiliar language by the influences of the King James Version and the vernacular proverb. Where writing like this is concerned, it is impossible to be a Guardian of Good Grammar; one must try to confront the roots of language —

the relationship between thought and word, with all the problems of extraneous influences and, in many cases, translation from a native tongue.

'THEY SPOKE WHAT WAS IN THEIR HEADS'

At another level, the intellectual excitement came from a kind of freshness of thought and expression in minds that have not become trapped by scholastic conventions, or the fear of them. I remember times at Swarthmore when I kept a question or thought to myself because I feared it might be in some way intellectually out of line. But most of my Nsukka students had no idea what was in or out of line, what was a cliché and what was not, what critical attitudes were forbidden or encouraged (though I did my share, I confess, of forbidding and encouraging). They were not at all calculating, in a social sense, in their thought. They spoke what was in their heads, with the result that discussion had a lively, unadulterated, and personal quality which I found a relief from the more sophisticated but less spontaneously sincere manner of many young American intellectuals. It was also a little infuriating at times. I am, after all, a product of my own culture. But one has only to look at a 1908 PHOENIX (the Swarthmore student newspaper) to realize how much sophistication is a thing of style and fashion, and how little any one fashion exhausts the possible ways in which the world can be confronted and apprehended.

In Nigeria, literature became the line of commerce between me and my students as people, a common interest and prime mover in the coming together of white American and black African. Ours was a dialogue between equals, articulate representatives of two articulate and in many ways opposing heritages. Because literature deals more directly with life than other art forms, through it I began to know Nigeria as a country and my students as friends. An idealized case history might read something like this: A student brings me a story he has written, perhaps autobiographical, about life in his village. I harrumph my way through a number of formal criticisms, and start asking questions about customs in his village that have a bearing on the story. Soon we are exchanging childhood reminiscences or talking about girls over a bottle of beer. Eventually we travel together to his home, where I meet his family and live in his house. And then what began, perhaps, as a rather bookish interest in comparative culture becomes a real involvement in that culture, so that each new insight does not merely add to one's store of knowledge, but carries the power of giving pain or pleasure.

Marie and George Hornbein of Akron, Ohio, are community development workers in Gama, Brazil, one of the poorest slum districts of the otherwise ultra-modern inland capital of Brasília. Above, Marie chats with some of her neighbors.

If there is any lesson in this, it is simply that no real intellectual understanding can exist without a sense of identification at some deeper level. I think this is what the Peace Corps, when it is lucky, accomplishes.

This sense of identification is not a mysterious thing. Once in Nsukka, after struggling to explain the social and intellectual background of some classic Western literature, I began teaching a modern Nigerian novel, Achebe's *No Longer At Ease*. I was struck by the concreteness of the first comments from the class: "That place where the Lagos taxi driver runs over the dog because he thinks it's good luck . . . it's really like that . . ." It seems that the joy of simple recognition in art is more than an accidental attribute — not the recognition of universals, but of dogs and taxicabs. Before going to Africa I read another book by Achebe, *Things Fall Apart*. I enjoyed it, and was glad to learn something about Ibo culture, but I thought it a mediocre work of art. I read the book again at the end of my stay in Nigeria and suddenly found it an exceptional work of art. It was no longer a cultural document, but a book about trees I had climbed and houses I had visited in. It is not that I now

ignored artistic defects through sentimentality, but that my empathy revealed artistic virtues that had previously been hidden from me.

We in America know too much about the rest of the world. Subjected to a constant barrage of information from books, TV, photographers, we know how Eskimos catch bears and how people come of age in Samoa. We gather our images of the whole world around us and succumb to the illusion of being cosmopolitan. We study comparative literature and read books like *Zen* and *The Art of Archery* and think of ourselves as citizens of the world when actually vast reading is simply the hallmark of our parochialism. No matter how many Yoga kicks we go on, we still interpret everything through the pattern of our own American existence and intellectual traditions, gleaning only disembodied ideas from other cultures.

If, as the critics have it, ideas are inseparable from their style of expression, it is equally true, in the cultural sense, that ideas are inseparable from the manner and place in which they are lived. This, to me, is the meaning of the Peace Corps as a new frontier. It is the call to go, not where man has never been before, but where he has lived differently, the call to experience firsthand the intricacies of a different culture, to understand from the inside rather than the outside, and to test the limits of one's own way of life against another in the same manner as the original pioneer tested the limits of his endurance against the elements. This is perhaps an impossible ideal, surely impossible in the narrow scope of two years; but it was an adventure, just the same. It was an adventure to realize, for instance, to what extent irony is an attribute, even a condition, of Western life and thought, and to live for nearly two years in a society in which irony, as a force, is practically nonexistent. But that is too complex a thing to get started on right now.

'HUNDREDS OF 23-YEAR-OLD SPIES'

Life at Nsukka was not always the easiest thing in the world, and the friendships I talk of so cavalierly were not the work of a day. Our group arrived at Nsukka shortly after the Peace Corps' first big publicity break, the famous Post Card Incident, which was still very much on Nigerian minds. We were always treated with a sense of natural friendliness and hospitality, but there was also quite a bit of understandable mistrust. Nigeria became a nation only in 1960, and the present university generation is one bred on the struggle for independence and the appropriate slogans and attitudes. I tended to feel guilty rather than

defensive, except when the accusations were patently ridiculous, such as the idea that we were all master spies — hundreds of 23-year-old master spies — or when facts were purposefully ignored, as in the statement that the Peace Corps was run by the CIA. America is a large, rich, powerful, feared, and envied nation; Nigeria is a new country naturally jealous of its independence and autonomy. All things considered, I am a little amazed at the openness and frankness of our reception.

There were other problems. Many Nigerians have an overdeveloped sense of status and found it hard to believe that we were paid practically nothing. Many reasoned that because we lived in the dormitories with the students instead of in big houses as the rest of the faculty, we must be second-raters, or misfits that America was fobbing off on them. But insofar

Jay Klinck of Concord, Mass., is a working and teaching mechanic in Hyderabad, India.

as we made names for ourselves as good teachers, and made ourselves accessible as people (something that few of my friends had ever known a white man to do), our eventual acceptance into the community was assured. Shortly after our arrival a petition circulated among the students asking the administration to dismiss the Peace Corps. Months later, student grievances erupted into a riot that forced the school to close down for more than two weeks, but in the long list of grievances, the Peace Corps was not now mentioned.

I do not wish to imply that we "won them over"; indeed, I think they won us over in the final analysis. It's just that the intransigence of our preconceptions of ourselves and others gradually dissolved into a kind of affectionate confusion. Ideas often try to live a life of their own, independent of and separate from the people and objects with which they supposedly deal. In the intellect alone they are self-proliferating, like fungus under glass, without regard for what the weather is doing outside. But the kind of personal contact we had with Nigerians helped break up the false buttressing of formal thought, and when that happens, personal friction creates a warmth conducive to further understanding, and not a heat with which to light incendiary fires. A glass of beer can make the difference between fanatics and worthy opponents.

I was at first surprised by how little I felt the presence of any racial feeling in Nigeria. What little I did notice had a kind of second-hand quality, as if it were merely a principled identification with the American Negro, or a historical commitment. Though well-informed about civil rights events in the United States, most Nigerians I talked to showed little understanding of the state of mind of the American Negro as differentiated from themselves. Most Nigerians have had little contact with hardcore prejudice backed by social force. They have good reason to resent, sometimes to hate, the white man in Africa, but they have never been subjected, as people, to the kind of daily and lifelong injustice that confronts the American Negro.

Racial feeling sometimes crops up in strange circumstances. A friend writes me, "Before Nsukka, the only whites I had ever known were reverend fathers in school who interpreted everything I did as a sure sign of fast-approaching eternal damnation . . ." In Africa as in America all whites are, to a certain extent, guilty until proven innocent, but in a very short time we were joking about our respective colors with a freedom and levity which is not always possible in America. Color has its own pure power, too; and I soon felt ashamed of my chalky, pallid skin against the splendor of the African's.

Much has been written recently about the contradictory feelings of the Negro toward the white man — hating him, and yet buying facial creams to be more like him, and I think the same sort of contradictory relationship exists in Nigeria, but with a cultural rather than a racial basis. The African stands in a very delicate psychological position between Western industrial culture and his own . . .

America is not so much interested in changing as exporting its society; Nigeria is interested in change, and is of necessity much less parochial than ourselves in the sources of its inspiration.

'THE ONLY THING THAT CUTS A LITTLE ICE'

"Africa caught between two worlds" — it is a cliché, but it is no joke. To the race problem it is at least possible to postulate an ideal resolution: racial equality and the elimination of intolerance. But in its cultural aspect — the struggle between African traditions and the heritage of the West — there is no indisputable resolution, not even in the mind. If I have learned anything from living in Nigeria, it is the unenviably complex and difficult position in which the young Nigerian finds himself; and if I have learned anything from the poems and stories written by my students, it is the incredible grace, honesty, and sometimes power with which many Nigerians are examining themselves, their past, and their future.

I don't know how friendship fits into all this, but somehow it does. My instincts revolt against the whole idea of having to prove, in some mechanistic or quantitative way, the value of the Peace Corps. If the aim is to help people, I understand that in the sense of the Ibo proverb which says that when the right hand washes the left hand, the right hand becomes clean also. E. M. Forster has said that "love is a great force in private life," but in public affairs, "it does not work. The fact is we can only love what we know personally, and we cannot know much. The only thing that cuts a little ice is affection, or the possibility of affection." I only know when I am infuriated by some article in a Nigerian newspaper, I can summon up countless images of dusty cycle rides with Paul Okpokam, reading poetry with Glory Nwanodi, dancing and drinking palm wine with Gabriel Ogar, and it suddenly matters very much that I go beyond my annoyance to some kind of understanding. That my Nigerian friends trust me is no reason for them to trust Washington, or forgive Birmingham; but something is there which was not there before, and which the world is the better for having.

VIII. DOMINIC
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'The Huma

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Background

Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina, General, President, and Dictator of the Dominican Republic since 1930, was assassinated in May, 1961. A year and a half later, Juan Bosch, who had lived in exile for 25 years, won the Presidency in the first free election under a freely adopted constitution ever held in the nation. But seven months after his February 1963 inauguration, Bosch was back in exile. A bloodless Golpe (coup) de Estado had removed him from office, abolished his government, suspended the constitution, and established as the governing power a triumvirate later headed by Donald Reid Cabral. It was against this regime that elements of the armed forces and the civilian population led a rebellion in the Spring of 1965 with the avowed aim of restoring constitutional government.

Amid stories of mounting casualties and destruction as the fighting progressed in Santo Domingo, and the controversy surrounding the landing of United States Marines, there were sketchy reports of Peace Corps Volunteers working in hospitals, driving ambulances, and distributing food with apparent safe conduct through partisan lines. Before long the Volunteers themselves were subjects of controversy. One news story reported a rebel soldier had asked a Volunteer nurse why she was assisting him when he would only return to the battle and shoot at U. S. Marines. According to the *New York Times* the Volunteers working in the hospitals were heroes and heroines "in the eyes of the rebels among whom they have lived so long." A reporter for the *New York Herald Tribune* wrote, "This is a war in which the U. S. War Corps is at odds with the U. S. Peace Corps."

The Richmond, Virginia *Newsleader* was troubled by the thought of Peace Corps Volunteers "giving aid and comfort to an enemy at the same time the enemy's troops are still shooting at American soldiers in the streets of Santo Domingo." Other newspapers also expressed editorial concern over the ambiguous role played by the Peace Corps.

Commended by some, censured by others, the Volunteers during the rebellion were doing essentially what they had been doing since their arrival: helping where help was needed. Before the outbreak of fighting, the Volunteers had been advised to avoid political partisanship, and this was still the operative rule for their behavior during the civil strife. An injured man was an injured man, and food went to those who were hungry.

Beginning in July of 1962, a total of 293 Volunteers had been sent to the Dominican Republic to build schools and teach in

schools, establish cooperatives, teach nursing, help in agriculture and forestry, drill wells, and work in community development. The major focus, as in the rest of Latin America, was on the latter. One Volunteer explained his job this way: "I believe community development, glibly phrased as 'helping the people to help themselves', rests on two assumptions. One is that what is best for the host country is, in the long run, best for us. Second is that we must truly believe — and act in accordance with the belief — that the ordinary citizen has the right and the responsibility to make decisions affecting his own welfare. The job of the community developer — the Peace Corps Volunteer — is to teach and stimulate the human skills and attitudes necessary for self-determination. That means teaching the characteristics which are usually so absent — pride, dignity, and self-respect . . . It is the task of the Volunteer to call attention to his fragmented community, to ease the sense of alienation; to function, in short, as a witness to the existence of the majority of the nation's citizens."

When the Volunteers arrived, their goals were by no means so clear, and the problems were formidable. Two months after they began work, a staff member wrote to Sargent Shriver

Roger Weiss, Everett, Wash., helps villagers lay out foundation of a new school in La Vega, D.R.

Volunteer Travis Ward, La Jolla, Cal., conducts classes in and around his home in a Santo Domingo barrio.

outlining the situation that preceded the Volunteers' arrival:

"The 30-year Trujillo dictatorship had finally ended. A seven-man Council of State had just taken over the country's executive and legislative duties. The treasury was empty. Trained or experienced administrators for government work were not available. Technicians were non-existent. Rioting and street disorders were common. Unemployment soared; the economy was almost paralyzed; the citizens were insecure and dissatisfied, and functional government programs or agencies did not exist. I can see why, from many angles, a Peace Corps program in the Dominican Republic appeared hopeless, impractical and impossible."

By March of 1965, what had appeared impossible was beginning to seem at least feasible. After a tour of Peace Corps work sites, another staff member wrote:

"The Volunteers in the Dominican Republic seem to be in rhythm with the country and its people. Not a single Volunteer interviewed, barring the two who were in the process of resigning,

expressed serious disappointment or disillusionment with his experience. All had some sort of a job and were working — not in a knuckles to the bone manner — but in a steady, deliberate and undramatic way . . . The Volunteer in the Dominican Republic enjoys as nearly complete acceptance by the Dominican people as could be wished. He is liked as a person, not manipulated as a door-knob to other American aid. Particularly in the urban barrios, the Volunteers are protected and cared for by their neighbors."

That was where matters stood when the revolt began six weeks later.

The War

> *"White ambulances with Peace Corps Volunteers at the wheels race up and down the streets, in the rebel as well as the junta districts, picking up the dead and wounded in cooperation with the Dominican Red Cross. The Volunteers work night and day, without food or sleep, in hospitals where major operations are performed without anesthesia on filthy floors under flashlight beams because there is no kerosene for emergency lamps . . ."*
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> From a news article in the *New York Herald Tribune*, May 3, 1965.

On the Saturday morning when the uprising began there were 108 Peace Corps Volunteers in the Dominican Republic, 34 of them in Santo Domingo. Shooting, shouting, horn-blowing, and blasting radios informed members of the Peace Corps staff, gathered for a meeting in their headquarters, that a major disturbance was underway. The Volunteers had been told that in the event of any civil disorder, they were to remain with their friends in the barrios, where they could await further instructions from the staff. But as the fighting and bloodshed swept across the capital the Volunteers were caught up in it. This was how the events looked to one of them:

"As the initial fighting broke out, some of our Dominican friends actively participated, while others preferred to wait in their homes patiently, caught in the uprising with which they sympathized, but in which they preferred a vocal rather than physical involvement. This vocal participation was, nevertheless, no less important or real than that of those actually fighting. It was with this group that we remained during the early days of the fighting. As the conflict was centered around the Duarte Bridge,

a few kilometers south of most of the barrios, we were able to hear the rifle fire as a steady background to the sight of dive-bombing P-51's attacking the bridge.

"It was only a few days until the fighting reached into the barrios. Armed bands of civilians — mostly comprised of 17-23-year-old kids — roamed the area freely where they confronted and fought the National Police. By Wednesday, April 28th, the entire northern area was under the control of the Constitutionalist forces. Up until this point, I had shared the confusion with all of my neighbors. Nobody really knew exactly what was happening — there was just a confusion of guns, shooting, planes, radio fanatics from both sides, and death. I had little sense of real personal danger as I felt completely safe surrounded by people I had grown to trust completely. But the problem was that nobody was able to predict with accuracy what might happen from one hour to the next and, hence, the Peace Corps staff felt that I would be wiser if I moved to a nearby hospital where I would be a bit safer. I did not want to leave because I felt that my place was with my friends. We had been sharing our lives and work for over a year and a half and I wanted to share their times of crisis as well.

These Santo Domingo teen-agers are members of a work-and-recreation club organized by Volunteer Kirby Jones (second from left), of New York City. Here they take time out from street repair work.

"I arrived at the hospital on Thursday morning. Already there and working were some Peace Corps nurses, working 16-18 hours a day assisting with the waves of wounded and generally supervising all phases of the hospital operations. Other than the nurses, there were we non-medical types who performed odd jobs from folding bandages, washing instruments, and carrying water to assisting with the operations. I had never been in a hospital before, much less one faced with a disaster. There was no electricity, short supply of water, few medicines, standards of sanitation were understandably low, and blood literally covering the floors. Luckily, during the first days there was so much to do there was little time to collect our thoughts. I guess most of us were so involved in our work and the real necessity of being there, that it never occured to us what was happening all around. It was hopeless to do nothing — there was work to be done and we did what we could. As things slowed down though, I began to realize the horribleness of the whole situation. This was not just another Golpe — but a real war. A war that resulted in 16- and 17-year olds dying by the dozens, 14-year-old children walking the streets with machine guns, and women and children cut down in the accidental shootings. After five days, I asked for a replacement — I had just had it. A schedule had been established for rest and relaxation and on Monday, May 3, I left the hospital.

"Shortly thereafter, all the Volunteers in the Capital moved to a central location within the established security zone. It was from this vacated girls' school that a new phase in Peace Corps activities began. By this time much of the wild shooting had calmed down a bit and there were definite sectors of control — the U. S. security zone, the military junta section, and the Constitutionalist-controlled sector. The nurses were continuing their work in the hospitals, but for the rest of us, there was a question of exactly what we were going to do. It was decided in a meeting that we would try to participate in the programs of food distribution. It was felt that we would be able to maintain contact with our work sites and demonstrate to our friends that we were not going to abandon them, that we planned to stay with them as much and as long as possible, that Peace Corps was interested in them — 'military' or 'rebel'. We obtained some food from CARE — about 1½ tons per trip — and made three separate trips to the barrios. This work and planning involved many of us for the next few weeks while, at the same time, others were helping the Red Cross, transporting medicines, providing manpower for the regular food distribution centers, and baking bread.

"During these few weeks of driving through all parts of Santo Domingo there was a definite degree of danger. I guess all of us were scared. The problem was not so much that we would be attacked personally, but rather that we might be in an area where there happened to be firing.

"In such an environment within which there was a definite degree of anti-American feeling, the Peace Corps received practically none. It was as though the Peace Corps was an entity separate from everything else that was concerned with the conflict — as, in fact, it was."

In fact there were moments during the conflict when some Volunteers forgot the importance of their "separateness" and openly expressed sympathy with their Constitutionalist friends, at the same time voicing criticism of United States intervention. The quoted remarks of these Volunteers drew some editorial fire back home. The most disturbing point to some observers was the implication that Volunteers had settled so deep in the Dominican culture that there was now some question whether the Volunteers were "theirs or ours."

In a leprosarium on the edge of Santo Domingo, Volunteers Harry Keramidas from Allen Park, Mich., and Lynda Wilson from Brewster, Wash., hold literacy classes for patients. Both Volunteers worked in

The question goes to the very root of Peace Corps philosophy. The degree to which Volunteers have been able to work effectively in alien cultures where other forms of foreign aid have frequently gone amiss has depended on their ability to shed their identity as foreigners or outsiders, to walk a thin line along which they could be sympathetically involved with the host country people and still be separate; in short, the ability to become "theirs" without ceasing to be "ours."

During the fighting in the Dominican Republic, the Dominicans themselves appeared to have no difficulty with the idea of Peace Corps neutrality. At one point the rebels notified United States military forces that they were prepared to release a group of American captives if a member of the Peace Corps would serve as intermediary. It was Robert Satin, Director of the Peace Corps' Dominican program, who then paid a call on the rebels and escorted six U. S. Marines safely back to the American zone.

Recently, one of the Dominican Volunteers explained how he managed to function usefully in his barrio:

"I thought one of the reasons why the Peace Corps is acceptable

hospitals and distributed food during the rebellion. After the cease-fire in May, they went to Puerto Rico for a brief rest and then returned to the Dominican Republic to complete their scheduled service.

is a lot of the Dominicans realize they need someone to help them and teach them how to run organizations, how to organize themselves, how to achieve certain goals. And yet we are the only people they can accept help from — well, not the only, but we're the best way to accept help without losing face, because we're not somebody coming in handing out gifts and saying 'You people need us.' You know, we're sort of just there and just through everyday interactions — it comes out of this. We're not sent in there specifically to say, 'All right, this guy is here and he's going to help you do this.' No, it's that we live there and these people say, 'I've got a problem, I'll go over and see this Volunteer over there, he sometimes knows these things' . . . And it's an acceptable way for them to receive help."

There is a suggestion in these remarks that the fact of Volunteers living at the level of the host country people is not just a feature of Peace Corps public relations but a central feature of the Peace Corps concept.

Just how deep a commitment some of the Dominican Volunteers had made to sympathetic involvement became evident during the Completion of Service Conference held for one group in Puerto Rico in May 1965, two months earlier than scheduled. Of the 46 Volunteers present at the conference, 16 elected to return to the Dominican Republic to continue their work. During a recorded interview session, some members of the group gave their reasons for going back to their jobs.

"I feel that we should go back to try and smooth things over," one of them said, "and kind of get the barrio back up to its level of organization so that the people can continue. I think this is a really bad time to leave it. And from the little contact that I've had (since the rebellion), I think it really won't take a long time to get them to a level at which they can start functioning again as a barrio."

The author of the report quoted earlier offered his own reasons for returning:

"I think that a lot of the social structure has been destroyed. The people will be preoccupied with getting their jobs back, getting food, money, and re-establishing their basic home lives. And for them to ... on a higher level of doing things for the community when they have so many acute problems right in their homes is going to be difficult . . .

"I'm going to be scared going back there but I think it's most important for the Peace Corps now — especially when it's the toughest situation — to go back, to work and not leave the people when the Peace Corps is needed the most. Many people I talked to during the revolution begged that the Peace Corps

come and stay and keep going. During the revolution I had many conversations with people in Radio Santo Domingo, out in the barrio, and everywhere, and the Peace Corps was just universally accepted. They felt that the Peace Corps lived with the people, knew the people, knew their situation and that the Peace Corps understood what the people were trying to do. And we're part of the people. One of them said to me 'You lived with us. When we're hungry, you're hungry. When we walk through the mud in the streets you walk through the mud in the streets. You understand us. We need your help.' And he was begging that the Peace Corps stay and bring more Volunteers in. And I think in this situation it's worth every effort for the Peace Corps to start again — the risk involved is worth it. That's one reason why I thought staying in the barrio was important — to show the Peace Corps does stay with the people — through thick and thin — to use a trite phrase."

As the recorded session proceeded the Volunteers seemed to be discovering more and more about their experience in the rebellion. One member of the group finally seemed to capture the mood for all of them when he said:

"There was one thing that overshadowed practically all the others, the magic of the three words 'Cuerpo de Paz'. If there was ever a testing ground for the Peace Corps idea, it was during those terrible weeks. Upon identification as Peace Corps at the various checkpoints, 'Cuerpo de Paz' was universally met with smiles and acceptance. It was a proud time for me as it was for all of us.

"I had a very strong reaction when a rebel soldier came up and called us 'Hijos de Kennedy' — Children of Kennedy — and I think in this situation the universal acceptance really hit me as what I considered the Peace Corps to be. I felt very proud to be part of the organization — of a United States organization — in a situation where there was so much anti-American feeling and yet we were totally accepted. And I felt 'this was what Peace Corps really means, it really gets to the people.' It's sort of like when Kennedy died no one realized the feeling across the world until he died. And I think that in the situation here no one realized — or I didn't realize — that Peace Corps was so accepted until its acceptance was tested in a situation like this. And that's one reason why I've got to go back, I just feel I can't let them down . . . they want the Peace Corps to come back, and you just have to do it. You have to do it."

At the time the Volunteers first went to work, 40 Dominican co-workers were assigned to work with them by the Dominican

Office of Community Development. Later, after the rebellion broke out, the co-workers met during a lull in the fighting to consider whether a new group of Volunteers could, or should, come to the Dominican Republic in the charged atmosphere of a rebellion. The eventual vote was 40 to 0 in favor of the Volunteers coming. The Dominicans agreed unanimously that the Volunteers would be safe, able to work, and welcome.

During the uneasy truce that has held since the beginning of May, both factions in the conflict agreed that additional Volunteers could come to the Dominican Republic to work in scheduled projects. On June 2nd, with the major issues still unresolved, 24 new Volunteers landed in Santo Domingo and went to their assignments unmolested by either side. Some time in October, approximately 40 more Volunteers are scheduled to arrive, conditions permitting.

Speaking to the Peace Corps staff in early June, Frank Mankiewicz, Director of the Peace Corps' Latin American Region said, "Many of them (the Volunteers) were terribly scared; I think to this day some of them are not quite sure of what they did or why they did it . . . But somewhere along the line they had caught up something that all of us feel, I think, from time to time — sometimes stronger than at others — about what it meant to be an American in that situation . . . and there really is not enough to say about the way they came through and what it meant to the United States and to the Dominicans too. People talk every once in a while about acting in the highest Peace Corps tradition. I'm not sure that in four years we've established very many traditions — either high or low. But the staff and the Volunteers in the Dominican Republic certainly set a standard this past month that can serve as a tradition until a better one comes along."

More than establishing a tradition, the Volunteers had confirmed a principle, which also could serve until a better one comes along. As one Volunteer later wrote:

"Most important was that the Volunteers remained a neutral group in a fractionated country. Even as fighting continued, Volunteers working in the slums of Santo Domingo controlled by rebel commandos were warmly welcomed back into their communities. At the same time, other Volunteers continued their work through loyalist government agencies in rural areas. On either side the words 'Cuerpo de Paz' were the safest conduct pass available. The economic, political, and military problems of the revolution are beyond the realm of the Peace Corps, but the human quotient is our province."